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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1233



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INTERNATIONAL

ROLE OF COMMUNISTS IN 'STRUGGLE FOR PEACE' OUTLINED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 12, Dec 81 pp 46-58

[Article by M. I. Basmanov: "The CPSU And The World Communist Movement: Communist and Workers Parties Are An Active Force In The Struggle For The People's Peace and Security"]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress devoted paramount attention to questions concerning the sweeping normalization of the international situation and formulated a clear program for the struggle for peace and against imperialism's aggressive policy. The 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the 18th Congress of the Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party, and the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, which were held later, once again showed that socialism and peace are inseparable. The communist parties of the capitalist and liberated countries are intensifying the struggle for peace.

V. I. Lenin said: "The field of militant work is the best place for checking our theoretical views."¹ The struggle for peace is such a field of militant activity for the CPSU and the entire international communist movement.

Lenin's party is marching in the vanguard of this struggle to deliver mankind from a thermonuclear catastrophe. Gus Hall, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, said during the 26th CPSU Congress: "You-- the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union -- can always be proud of your mission of peace, of your historic contribution to the struggle for peace and relaxation.... Without your uncompromising, unswerving and heroic devotion to the cause of peace, our planet would have been transformed by now into a lifeless pile of nuclear ashes".²

In the present article, the author has attempted to show in condensed form the role which the CPSU and the international communist movement on the whole have played in the struggle to avert a new world war during the postwar period, especially during the Seventies and Eighties.

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During the very first years after the defeat of mankind's worst enemy -- Hitlerite fascism, the CPSU undertook a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the arrangement of forces in the international arena and determined the prospects for peaceful development. The CPSU consistently saw to it that a "prolonged and stable peace" was formed on a democratic basis.³

Two trends were clearly charted in postwar international relations. One of them was directed toward cancelling out the victory of the Soviet Union and all democratic forces during the Second World War, preventing the formation of socialist countries and undermining the national liberation movement. This trend was represented by the United States and its allies who combined forces to -- as W. Churchill admitted -- "lead Christian civilization to an anticommunist crusade".⁴

The policy of the CPSU, which consistently defended peace, was opposed to this policy of war. The organizers of the anticommunist crusade relied on the help of the most varied means -- flagrant dictation, military blackmail, ideological diversion -- to isolate the Soviet Union and to deprive it of friends and allies. However, it was not meant for these plans to come true: Soon after the war a union of the socialist states, which established a fundamentally new socialist type of international relations, took shape.

Noted for its realistic approach to the solution of international problems, the foreign policy of the CPSU has exerted and is exerting a growing effect on the world system of international relations.

First, by concluding that there is a real opportunity to avert a world war under present conditions. This idea, which was expressed in general form during the first postwar years, found a clear-cut embodiment in the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress. The congress pointed out that -- in a situation where a powerful socialist camp has taken shape, where the worker movement in capitalist countries is growing, where the national movement for peace is becoming stronger, and where there are other peaceloving states who have taken an anti-imperialist position and who have formed a vast zone of peace with the socialist countries -- there are real opportunities to prevent the unleashing of a new world war by the imperialists.⁵

This conclusion of the 20th CPSU Congress found further development in the party program which was adopted by the 22d CPSU Congress and in the decisions of the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th CPSU congresses.

Second, by enriching the theory and practices of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Being the guiding force of the most powerful socialist power and being forced to consider the capitalist world, the CPSU naturally made a very large contribution to the development and theoretical enrichment of the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence. Our party repeatedly declared that -- in its view -- peaceful coexistence is not simply the absence of war between states with different social systems. The CPSU Program points out: "Peaceful coexistence assumes: the rejection of war as a means of solving controversial questions between states; their solution by negotiations; equality, mutual understanding and trust between states; consideration of each other's interests; non-interference in internal affairs; the recognition of each people's right to solve

all their country's problems on their own; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries; and the development of economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit."⁶

During the Sixties and Seventies, the party increased its experience in the struggle to implement the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence. In connection with this, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out during the 26th CPSU Congress: "Enormous experience in the struggle for peace and to relax international tensions has been acquired by our party. As a result, both the theory and the practices of peaceful coexistence have been enriched."

Third, by thoroughly substantiating the thesis that peace is the decisive prerequisite for mankind's social progress. This proposition, which resounded with special force in L. I. Brezhnev's concluding speech to the 26th CPSU Congress, has been the constant leit-motif of the theoretical activity and practical policy of the party during the postwar period.

Peace has become an important condition for social progress because -- in the so-called nuclear age -- war would be disastrous for people and for humanity as a whole. As L. I. Brezhnev pointed out during the 26th CPSU Congress, "Now, there is no more vital or more important question for any people than the preservation of peace and the ensuring of each individual's primary right -- the right to life."⁸

The fate of civilization directly depends on whether we avoid a thermonuclear war. Mankind does not have the right to make a mistake; if it permits a war involving nuclear weapons, it will place its very existence in danger. The position of the CPSU is extremely simple. It was the same when the United States had a monopoly on nuclear weapons for some time and when the Soviet Union also became their possessor. The CPSU has continuously been in favor of banning nuclear weapons. It is resolutely opposed to any use of them -- both in a world war and in so-called local wars. Peace is the highest goal of the Soviet state's international policy. The series of initiatives, which were proposed by the 26th party congress, has become the Peace Program for the Eighties. However, as L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his speech at the dedication of the memorial complex in Kiev, "the advancement of a program is, of course, a beginning, and not the end of the affair. All the work, the entire struggle, is still ahead. We do not claim a monopoly in the task of strengthening peace. We are in favor of a full-scale dialogue, and any constructive idea will always meet with understanding on our part."

During all the postwar years the CPSU and the Soviet government have sought to obtain the same clear position from the United States. An agreement about preventing a nuclear war was signed during L. I. Brezhnev's visit to that country in the summer of 1973. It stipulated that the goal of both countries' policy "is the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons" both between them and between any other countries. The Soviet Union and the United States must be guided by these considerations when formulating their foreign policy and in their actions in the area of international relations. In the event the risk of a nuclear conflict arises between the parties and in their relations with

other countries, the USSR and the United States "will immediately begin urgent consultations with each other and will exert every effort to avert this risk."¹⁰

However, during the second half of the Seventies and the beginning of the Eighties, the tendency to revise the earlier attitude toward a thermonuclear war took possession of the U. S. ruling circles. Whereas its global and totally destructive effect was recognized earlier, now attempts are being made to depict a war as not being so terrible -- a war which mankind could allegedly survive. Wild ideas about the possibility of "local" thermonuclear wars have appeared.

The CPSU has decisively rejected these concepts. During the 26th CPSU Congress, it was pointed out that a "limited" -- in the American understanding -- nuclear war would mean at the very beginning the certain destruction of all modern civilization. The thought which was expressed in the CPSU Central Committee report: The people must know the truth about how destructive the consequences of a nuclear war would be for mankind, has resounded throughout the world. L. I. Brezhnev proposed the creation of an authoritative international committee which would demonstrate how vitally necessary it is to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

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The theoretical thesis about the possibility of averting a world war is being strengthened by practical deeds; our party has done very much to strengthen the forces of peace, democracy and social progress. This has been demonstrated in the following.

The CPSU has made an important contribution to the strengthening of socialist cooperation as the bulwark for the peace and security of people. During the years of the Second World War and during the postwar period, the Soviet state concluded treaties of friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation with Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia. In 1948, such treaties were concluded with Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria. In 1948 - 1949, bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance were concluded between the European peoples' democratic countries.

In May 1955, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which has become an important factor in strengthening peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, was created in Warsaw. In consistently following a policy of strengthening the world socialist commonwealth, the CPSU has proclaimed that friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the socialist countries are the cornerstones of Soviet foreign policy. This policy found confirmation and further development during the 26th CPSU Congress.

The CPSU has always supported and is supporting the peaceful efforts of the liberated states. Immediately after the war, the CPSU and the Soviet state energetically supported the liberation struggle of the people in Asia and Africa. During all the subsequent years, the Soviet Union has done a lot to place the former colonial and semi-colonial countries on the path of independent development. Its help was political, diplomatic, moral, economic, and military.

The CPSU regards the nonalignment movement with understanding and completely identifies with it, seeing in this movement an important factor for strengthening peace and the forces opposed to imperialist aggression. The Soviet Union greeted the policy of nonalignment, which was proclaimed in 1948 by J. Nehru -- the head of the Indian government, and whose basic principles were formulated in April 1955 during the Bandung conference of 29 Asian and African countries and which has exerted "a large influence on the historical fate of the people of the two continents."¹¹

Imperialist reaction spread a propaganda campaign, accusing the Soviet Union and the other socialist states of allegedly exerting pressure on the nonaligned countries and inspiring them to take an anti-imperialist position. However, the imperialists themselves are guilty of strengthening the anti-imperialist direction in the nonalignment movement. The majority of the aggressive actions to which they resorted during the last quarter of the century have been directed against the states which are pursuing a policy of nonalignment.

During the 26th CPSU Congress, the policy -- which had been proclaimed earlier by the party -- of supporting the policy of nonalignment as an important factor in international relations was again confirmed. It was emphasized during the congress: "Its strength is directed against imperialism and colonialism, against war and aggression."¹²

The CPSU has done a lot to mobilize world public opinion and peaceloving forces to struggle against the threat of a thermonuclear war. V. I. Lenin characterized the state of affairs in capitalist countries as follows: "The unfamiliarity of the mass of the population with foreign policy is immeasurably more widespread than ignorance in the field of domestic policy.... The deception of the mass of the people is developed artistically with respect to foreign policy 'affairs'".¹³

The ruling circles of the capitalist countries have exerted and are exerting quite a bit of effort (using the latest systems of the mass information media and refined ways to manipulate the consciousness of the masses) to twist the essence of events which are taking place in the world, and to neutralize or at least weaken the popular masses' criticism of the imperialist policy of aggression, dictation and coercion.

A definite change toward the better side of the moral and political atmosphere is being noted in the world now. The movement of the peaceloving forces has become more active than during the prewar years. It is incomparably more difficult for the imperialist forces to nurture and, moreover, implement aggressive plans. Many bourgeois governments have gone into retirement under the pressure of the popular masses. The positions of political parties, which bear responsibility for this policy, have been pulled down.

The leading role in antimilitary presentations belongs to the working class. Being the adherent and champion of international solidarity more than other classes and social layers, it has come forward as the organizer of large-scale international actions against expansionism. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that the popular masses are displaying a "sharp intolerance toward tyranny and aggression and an unbending will toward peace."¹⁴

How is the CPSU influencing the consolidation of peaceloving forces? First of all, by the very fact that it is consistently pursuing a peaceloving policy. Naturally, the one who really wants peace cannot fail to support the party and state which are pursuing a policy of supporting it. The very logic of this policy leads to the CPSU emerging as the spokesman for the vitally important interests of all the world's people. The deep liking for it and for its efforts to unite peaceloving forces for the sake of averting a thermonuclear war comes from this.

During the 26th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out: "Certainly, there is no state which would have appeared before mankind during recent years with such a broad spectrum of concrete and realistic initiatives on the most important problems of international relations, as the Soviet Union did."¹⁵

Over the course of long years the Soviet Union has struggled to stop the testing of nuclear weapons. In March 1958, the USSR Supreme Soviet decided on the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee to unilaterally halt the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. It addressed to the states, which had these weapons at their disposal, an appeal to adopt similar measures. The USSR unilateral halt to tests forced the governments of the United States and England to halt their testing. After long efforts by our country, the Treaty to Ban the Testing of Nuclear Weapons in the Atmosphere, Space, and Under Water was concluded in 1963 in Moscow between the Soviet Union, the United States and England. The signing of the Moscow treaty had enormous importance for the fate of mankind.¹⁶

Another example is the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States on which the fate of the world greatly depends. Even here, the CPSU is following a persistent course to normalize their relations. Thanks to a considerable degree to the USSR, more than 50 agreements and treaties were concluded with the United States during the Seventies. Understandings concerning cooperation in 150 different areas of life and activity -- from medicine and agriculture to the world ocean and space -- were also achieved.¹⁷

On the frontier between the Seventies and Eighties, the administration in Washington -- trying to exert pressure on the Soviet Union -- began to destroy everything that was positive which had been created with quite a bit of difficulty during the previous years. However, this destructive act is encountering opposition not only in the United States itself but also beyond its borders. L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out: "The principle 'all or nothing' is in no way applicable to international politics. Here, it is necessary to try to move forward all the time, using all existing opportunities".¹⁸

The CPSU was guided by this proposition when developing and proposing the Peace Program during the 24th party congress and the program for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation and for the freedom and independence of people during the 25th congress. The Peace Program received further development during the 26th CPSU Congress, which proposed new initiatives to stabilize the international situation: The Soviet Union proposed expanding to all of Europe the measures to strengthen trust in the military sphere, to limit strategic weapons and to reduce them, to establish a moratorium on the deployment of new nuclear missile medium range systems in Europe, etc. All these proposals are united by one goal -- to do everything possible to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

All the postwar initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet government have been noted for their scientific justification and the realistic nature of the proposed measures. They are not oriented on insuring the unilateral advantage of anyone or on causing damage to any party. It is no accident that many of the proposals, which were contained in the Peace Program, have been implemented (a convention on banning effects on the environment for military purposes has entered into effect, the basic proposition of a treaty banning radiological weapons have been preliminarily agreed to, discussions are continuing about excluding chemical weapons from the arsenals of states, etc.). Much of what has not been implemented has become the first and foremost demand of the broad masses of the fighters for peace.

The active support for the CPSU's peaceloving initiatives is explained by the fact that all of them have a mobilizing nature. Lenin's words that the "working class, when it gains power, alone can pursue a policy of peace not in words ..., but in deeds" are today coming true.¹⁹

All the activity of the CPSU to relax international tensions during the Seventies is a shining example of this. The people of the world rightfully link the positive changes for the better, which have been achieved during this decade in the system of international relations, with the efforts of the Soviet people, guided by the CPSU, and with the activity of L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. His tireless activity in defense of peace, which has been displayed in numerous initiatives -- which are filled with initiative -- and in day-to-day political practices, has confirmed that the struggle for peace and for the relaxation of international tensions is a task of primary importance for the CPSU.²⁰

At the present time, the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet "To the Parliaments and People of the World" is at the center of attention of peaceloving forces, many parliaments, political parties and social organizations. In this appeal which sounded when 40 years had passed since the treacherous attack of fascist Germany on the Soviet Union, our country called upon parliaments and people to undertake everything to strengthen peace and defend relaxation.

Our country has repeatedly in the most serious way given to understand that it will do everything which depends on it to repulse an aggression against any socialist country. And so it was in fact. When the American aggressors were organizing an invasion of Cuba, our country brought the armed forces to combat readiness. Other participants in the Warsaw Treaty also undertook mobilization measures. The U. S. government was finally forced to give up its planned aggression. So it was when American imperialism unleashed military operations against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The USSR sent Vietnam a significant amount of weapons and military equipment. The USSR took measures of a political and diplomatic nature to halt the American aggression. These actions by the CPSU and the Soviet government had no small importance for the victory of the Vietnamese people in the war against American imperialism.

During the 26th CPSU Congress, representatives of communist and revolutionary democratic parties unanimously singled out the outstanding role which the Soviet government is playing in helping people who are struggling against imperialism and neocolonialism and for their national liberation.

Our party has always attached enormous significance to the fact that the international communist movement has collectively worked out the strategy and tactics for the struggle for peace and has united its efforts against imperialist aggression and against the threat of a new world war.

In an ideological and theoretical respect, the CPSU constantly strives for the international communist movement to be guided by Marxist-Leninist teachings on questions concerning war, peace and revolution. The CPSU proceeds from the Leninist instruction that "a revolution, which follows after a war and is connected with war ..., is an especially harsh type".²¹ Therefore, the CPSU decisively came out against the adventuristic ideas about war as a way to move mankind to socialism which were proposed by the Beijing Maoists at the beginning of the Sixties.

The great historical service of the CPSU consists of the fact that it has done a very great deal to consolidate the international communist movement in the struggle against the Maoist anti-Marxist views on war, peace and revolution. Subsequently, the CPSU consistently defended the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence, rejecting both its right-wing opportunistic and left-wing interpretations. The right-wing opportunistic interpretation of the policy of peaceful coexistence boiled down to attempts to transform inter-state relations into inter-class ones; the left-wing -- to counterposing the class struggle to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The CPSU also came out against the myth about the "agreement of the two super-powers" which penetrated into the ranks of the communist movement, against the thesis that the relaxation of tensions would allegedly lead to a weakening of the socialist countries' bonds with the liberated countries, etc. The consistent struggle of the CPSU against the different types of deviations from Marxism-Leninism has contributed to the working out of a common approach by communist parties to many of the events and phenomena which are taking place in the world.

In the political respect, the CPSU has contributed to the materialization of understandings achieved by the communist movement. It was as if a feedback was operating here: When making a contribution to the development of the communist movement's political programs, the Leninist party strove to implement the proposals which had been agreed to by the communists. It used all its influence and international authority to achieve these goals.

In an organizational respect, the CPSU did a lot to conduct international conferences and meetings to discuss the next tasks in the struggle for peace. It is sufficient to remember that international conferences were held in Moscow in 1957, 1960, and 1969. The CPSU participated in a very active way in organizing the international conferences in Karlovy Vary in 1967, in Berlin in 1976 and in Paris in 1980.

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The present anti-war struggle is unthinkable without the participation of communists just as peace in general is unthinkable without communists. They are operating in 94 countries and represent the only political movement on our planet

which is having an ever growing effect in socialist, capitalist and liberated states. This circumstance alone places a special historical responsibility on communists -- they are vitally interested in preserving peace both in the world as a whole and in individual regions.

There have been and are quite a few political parties in the world which proclaim an adherence to peace. The distinctive feature of communist parties is that they place the achievement of peace at the center of all their political activity.

The enormous effect of communist parties on the fate of mankind and the fate of the world under modern conditions is demonstrated in the following.

First. Communists express the peaceloving yearning of the international working class. Historical experience testifies that classes, which are departing from the historical arena, are afraid of peace. The working class -- this is the class for whom the future exists. Peace has always been its political ideal in the same way that socialism and communism are its social ideal. A path to a society of social justice, which is not connected with war, is most of all responsive to the interests of the working class.

The international working class has regarded and does regard the struggle for a democratic system of international relations, which includes the equality of states and people, as an important component part of its struggle for social liberation. As before, the task which was formulated by K. Marx: "... to see to it that the simple laws of morality and justice, by which private individuals must be guided in their mutual relations, become the highest laws also in relations between nations. The struggle for such a foreign policy is part of the overall struggle for the liberation of the working class".²²

The international working class has not simply maintained relations of morality and justice, but relations of friendship between countries in which it has come to state power. In creating a new socialist world and a type of relation between socialist countries which is unprecedented in history, the working class sees its tasks to be the strengthening of peace and trust between all states until the new social order is finally victorious on earth.

This task, which has a general democratic and deeply human nature is finding theoretical and practical embodiment in the documents of the international conferences of communist and workers parties and in the material of their congresses and plenums. The specific proposals which have been put forward by the communists and which reflect the vitally important interest not only of the working class but also of the broad masses of workers, are encountering the understanding of those who cherish the fate of the world.

The consistent defense of the working class' peaceloving aspirations is one of the most important conditions for developing cooperation between communists and social democratic parties. If a strengthening of the contacts between communists and social democrats has been noticed recently, this to a significant degree is the result of pressure exerted on the latter by the working class, including that part of it which is located within the orbit of influence of social reformism.

During the Sixties and Seventies, the communists continually addressed during their international and regional conferences and during party congresses proposals to the social democrats to unite their actions on matters concerning the struggle for peace. Such a call sounded with new force during the 26th CPSU Congress. L. I. Brezhnev said: "Modern social democracy possesses a significant political weight. It could do more to defend the vital interests of people and especially to strengthen peace, normalize the international situation, repulse fascism and racism".²³

Second. The world revolutionary process is an important factor in stabilizing general peace. Communists are doing a lot to strengthen the unity of revolutionary forces. This itself has become a decisive prerequisite for preserving and strengthening peace. The normalizing effect of the world revolutionary process on the course of international events consists not only of the fact that it has become an insurmountable barrier on the path of the aggressive plans of the imperialist forces, but also of the fact that it is creating a new society which is defending peace in international relations. After the Second World War, there was no decade which did not lead new countries under the banner of socialism and, thereby, strengthen the forces of peace.

The revolutionary process is also giving birth to fundamentally new forms of international politics and is filling the old forms with a new content, forcing imperialism to consider the views and ideas of communists about the nature and content of relations between states.

Mankind's greatest good fortune is the fact that the invention of such systems of mass destruction as nuclear and other types of destructive weapons did not take place when the dominance of imperialism was undivided. A socialist commonwealth, which is protecting the peace and security of people, exists and is actively influencing international relations.

The charges that the communist parties of the capitalist and liberated countries intend "to blow up the world" are also groundless. There is not a single truly Marxist party which would link its revolutionary goals and tasks with war. On the contrary, communists consider that peace and the relaxation of international tensions create the most favorable preconditions for states and people to²⁴ determine their own social path and to decide for themselves which system is better.

The positive changes in the world situation are creating the necessary external conditions for the construction of socialism and communism and are paralyzing the resistance²⁵ of the imperialist forces in the struggle for social and national liberation.

Communists consider the insurance of a firm peace the most important task which lies in the main channel of the historical process.

This is a social problem of paramount importance since it is directly and immediately connected with the shift of mankind from capitalism to socialism and with the creation of the most favorable conditions for this shift.

It is a very large revolutionary problem since the subject concerns the "complete destruction of militarism" and -- as V. I. Lenin pointed out -- it is necessary to regard this task "not in a pacifist sense, but in close union with the socialist revolution and as a result of it".²⁶

It is a problem common to all mankind since the subject concerns the preservation of civilization. When answering questions from the editors of the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL, L. I. Brezhnev called the reasoning of some strategists and politicians in the West about the permissibility of a "limited" nuclear war and the possibility of gaining a victory in it, insidious. He declared: "... This would be death, a catastrophe which would lead to the destruction of entire peoples and their centuries old civilizations."²⁷

In trying by any means to compromise the struggle of communists for peace, bourgeois ideologists assure one that the communists are inciting the young recently liberated states to take an active part in a "plot" against peace, calling them instigators of international "terrorism". But here again is a lie. Nothing is intentionally said about the fact that not the liberated countries but the imperialists, "the direct successors" -- L. I. Brezhnev said during a Kremlin reception in honor of D. Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee and president of the People's Republic of the Congo -- "of those who drew free people into slavery by iron, fire and blood and of those who plundered and oppressed them for decades" are the organizers of military conflicts everywhere. "They are trying to impose their understanding of order in the world on the international community. This understanding, which would justify neocolonial robbery and dictating and coercion methods would untie their hands for the suppression of national liberation movements".²⁸

Third. The communist movement is the only political force which has a developed program for the preservation and strengthening of universal peace. Indeed, neither history nor modern times knows a political current which could be compared with the communist one in the breadth and the fundamental nature of its posing of questions connected with the preservation and strengthening of peace. The proposals of the communists express the thoughts and hopes of all people and all peaceloving forces. They are based on the thorough scientific analysis of world events, contain weighted evaluations of the ratio of political forces in the world, and sensibly consider the capabilities of each of the sides. These proposals are not made up; they come from real needs and are commensurate with the specific historical situation.

The opportunity and the need to disrupt the aggressive plans of imperialism have been substantiated by communists as the result of collective creative efforts. During the darkest days of the "cold war" in September 1947, the communists emphasized that between imperialism's desire to unleash a new war and its capabilities to unleash one -- there is a distance of enormous dimensions.²⁹

Communists have not only come out against the thesis of the inevitability of wars. They have stated no less definitively that there is no fatal inevitability and condition of tension in international relations. They were the first to come out with a call for the relaxation of international tensions in the "Appeal to the

People of All the World" which was adopted during the 1960 conference of communists and workers parties³⁰. An important landmark in the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace was the conference of European communist and workers parties on security questions in Europe which was held in 1967 in Karlovy Vary and which introduced specific proposals aimed at strengthening peace,³¹ overcoming the "cold war" and normalizing peaceful general European cooperation. The ideas of the Karlovy Vary conference were reflected in the work of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation which was held in Helsinki.

The attitude of communists toward the Helsinki agreements were strengthened in the materials of the conference of 29 European communist and workers parties which was held in Berlin in June 1976. Its participants declared that "they regard the struggle for relaxation as an important contribution to the creation of those international conditions which contribute to social progress",³² and as a precondition for the complete confirmation of the principals of peaceful co-existence and for halting the race in all types of arms, especially nuclear weapons.

An important landmark in the struggle for peace was the Paris meeting of European communist and workers parties in April 1980. This meeting took place during a period when the American administration was inflicting appreciable blows against relaxation, and the Pentagon had adopted a policy of sharply increasing its expenditures for weapons and on deploying new types of missiles in Western Europe. Communists have urged that the plan for further inflaming the arms race be defeated and that everything be done to prevent a nuclear war. In the "Appeal of the Communists to the Peoples of the European Countries for Peace and Disarmament", the communist parties declared that they would see to the revocation of NATO's decision concerning the production and deployment of new American missiles in Europe, struggle for decisive progress in the Vienna negotiations to limit armed forces and weapons, etc.

The conference of a number of communist and workers parties in Africa actively supported the policy of peaceful coexistence and relaxation in relations between states with different social systems.³³

In the struggle for peace, a special mission falls to the share of the communists in the zone of national liberation. That is why "hot spots" and centers of military conflicts, which are being enkindled by the imperialist forces, arise here most frequently of all. Communists are giving a decisive rebuff to the aggressive plans of imperialism and to the policy, proclaimed by the U. S. administration, to unleash local conflicts. They are struggling to develop friendly relations with the socialist countries and with all the peaceloving forces in the world.

Thus, the communists of the socialist, capitalist and liberated countries have a developed, all-embracing and lasting program for the struggle for peace. They are devoting all their energy and all their revolutionary passion to its realization.

Fourth. Communists on the interrelationship of the international and the national in the struggle for peace. Positive improvements, the same as failures in the

world-wide struggle for peace, exert a direct influence on the condition of the anti-war movement within national boundaries. Conversely, the successes of each people on the path to strengthening peace and normalizing relations with other peoples make a substantial contribution to reorganizing the system of international relations on democratic lines. Such a close interrelationship of the international and the national in the struggle for peace did not exist earlier. The fate of mankind has never before depended so substantially on the preservation of peace in individual countries and regions. Therefore, the struggle to create a system of international relations which would exclude the surprise of a "new Sarajevo," has become the determining tendency of the entire democratic and progressive movement.

Communist parties have different capabilities in the struggle for peace. Many factors are playing their part. It is natural that the communist parties of the socialist countries are acting differently than the communists in the capitalist and liberated states. Concerning the capitalist countries, whether a country is in NATO or is conducting a policy of neutrality is a matter of no small importance for the communist parties existing there. Communists also take into consideration the position of the country's government in the international arena. Is it directed at strengthening peace or at aggravating tensions.

The geographic factor also plays a role: It is important for the party to see its position not only in that country but also in the region. Thus, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany energetically defends the idea of transforming the Baltic Sea into a sea of peace. The Bulgarian Communist Party has proposed a number of concrete measures for strengthening peace in the Balkans. The Communist Party of Greece and the communist parties of other countries on the Mediterranean Basin are waging a persistent struggle to demilitarize that region. The communist parties of the Arab countries are energetically protesting against the increased activity of the Pentagon and NATO in the Persian Gulf and in the Red Sea. The communists of Latin America have concentrated their efforts on stopping the aggressive intrigues of U. S. imperialism against the people's liberation movement.

The national features of the communist parties' struggle for peace do not hide their common international interests. The internationalism in the foreign policy of the communist parties of the socialist countries consists of the fact that favorable international conditions are being provided for further movement along the path of socialism and communism. This has very important significance for the shift to socialism on a world-wide scale and for strengthening the positions of all revolutionary forces. "The struggle for socialism in one's country and the responsibility of each party to its working class and people are connected with the mutual solidarity of the workers of all countries, all progressive movements and peoples in the struggle for freedom and the strengthening³⁴ of independence, for democracy, socialism and peace throughout the world".

The communist parties of the socialist countries are invariably coming out with concrete proposals aimed at inducing the appropriate capitalist countries to take a realistic look at the development of their relations with the socialist states and to adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence when doing this.

This position was confirmed once again during the conference of the secretaries of the central committees of communist and workers parties in the socialist countries which was held in November 1981 and which declared the unbreakable unity of peace and socialism.³⁵ Communist support all the positive aspects in the foreign policy activity of the capitalist countries which touch upon the realization of the bilateral and multilateral agreements on strengthening peace and security. At the same time, they decisively condemn those aspects in the foreign policy activity of imperialist circles which complicate the international situation and which cause harm to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

On the platform of expanding the struggle for peace, an opportunity for forming broader alliances of parties and organizations, regardless of their social make-up and political views, is being revealed to communists. As historical experience has shown, these alliances can acquire various forms: statements against individual acts of imperialist aggression, mass actions which are directed against preserving and strengthening general peace and against any actions which increase the danger of war (mass demonstrations against the deployment of new types of American weapons on the European continent), etc. Effective forms have been developed for the struggle for peace (collections of signatures, petitions to parliament, statements of municipalities against the deployment of nuclear weapons on their territory, etc.). All this creates effective forms of mass pressure on the governments of the capitalistic countries, hindering the strengthening of militaristic aggressive tendencies.

The peoples of the world are more and more convinced that communists are the most consistent warriors against the threat of a third world war. This growth in the authority of communists worries the imperialist forces and their propaganda apparatus very much. Under present conditions, the tasks of sowing discord in the ranks of the international communist movement are being moved to the forefront of their ideological diversionary strategy. A. Lilov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, has pointed out in connection with this: "Imperialism would very much like now to see us disunited and secluded in our national quarters which would be convenient for neutralization. Even more, it would be happy to see us opposing each other. It is for this, you see, that imperialism is pursuing its notorious 'differentiated policy' both with respect to Western communist parties and with respect to socialist countries. The philosophy of this policy is disunity. Its goal is the erosion of communist unity and solidarity."³⁶

In trying to achieve this goal, imperialist propaganda pushes in every way possible the slightest differences between the communist parties, including those differences which pertain to foreign policy. Whereas, the differences in evaluations, which exist in individual cases, often reflect the complexity and variety of the tasks facing the communist parties.

The more concrete the foreign policy questions, on which a communist party is developing its position, are; the greater is the probability for distinctive features in their evaluations and their conclusions about them. This is one of the manifestations of the independence and autonomy of parties who are developing their position independently. There is nothing reprehensible in a possible failure of the foreign policy positions of a party to coincide on some specific question or other.

The presence of agreement on the fundamental question does not exclude differences in the approach to specific questions of international politics. It is important, however, that there be no deviations from the class position when evaluating this or that phenomenon in international life.

Recently, it is possible to encounter on the pages of the press of some Western European communist parties the statement that "both sides are guilty" of aggravating international tensions -- the United States and the Soviet Union. Leaving aside the question that the chronology of events has been lost sight of here (it certainly demonstrates how NATO and the Pentagon step by step stubbornly worked to aggravate the situation in the world), it is impossible to characterize this position as anything other than objectivist and non-class.

The fact that the qualitative difference of the Warsaw Treaty from NATO, their different class natures, and political direction are sometimes lost sight of cannot fail to evoke astonishment. A common name: "opposing military blocs", has appeared for both organizations. As B. N. Ponomarev points out: "From a Marxist, that is, a naturally correct, point of view the approach to the Warsaw Treaty and NATO as organizations of identical nature and content does not stand up to any criticism."³⁷ The last quarter of a century has graphically testified that the Warsaw Treaty Organization invariably was the source of the greatest peace initiatives. Concerning the aggressive NATO bloc, the line of this bloc has also been consistently stable -- the aggravation of tensions and the inflaming of the arms race.

Attempts to "spread equally" the responsibility for the negative phenomena in international life between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO invariably leads to a retreat from the class position and to an embellishment of the policy of the imperialist countries. The real facts demonstrate that the statement that NATO allegedly is a "defensive alliance" is completely untrue. You see, it is from such an evaluation that -- to put it mildly -- the naive judgments flow concerning the allegedly existing opportunity to use it as an instrument for strengthening "international stability" and even as a peculiar "defensive shield" (they are silent against whom) in the event of a victory by democratic forces in some Western European country or other.

Speaking in the name of the democratic and workers movement, how is it possible to lose sight of the fact that the "heart" of NATO's policy is the struggle against revolutionary and democratic forces everywhere? NATO is really defending "stability", but it is a stability in which American and international imperialism is interested and which is tantamount to the social status quo and to the banning of progressive social changes aimed against the domination of the monopolistic leaders.³⁸

Thus, the striving for "equal distance" from the United States and the USSR, from the NATO and Warsaw Treaty blocs, actually leads to the rehabilitation of the United States as the main imperialist power and bearer of the danger of war. This cannot fail to disorient the masses and to muffle the class consciousness of the proletariat.

The attempt to boil the main contradiction of today down to a confrontation between two military political blocs, which is sometimes encountered on the pages of the communist press, evokes an objection. Such an approach not only has nothing in common with the evaluations which have been worked out by communist parties for the present era, but also pays certain tribute to the notorious "two superpowers" concept. Moreover, such a simplified treatment of the events, which are taking place in the world, pushes those, who have not entered "into the orbit of the blocs", to take the position of disinterested observers. It is not difficult to picture what a gain such an orientation would bring to the enemies of peace and how the anti-war forces would suffer from this. The struggle for peace is as indivisible as our planet is indivisible. The interest of its preservation require the constantly growing activity of all peaceloving forces and the increase of their vigilance.

It is important to overcome the pessimism which has been spread among a certain part of the population in capitalist and developing countries concerning the prospects for the struggle for peace and the struggle against the arms race. The process of creating and improving systems for waging war has acquired enormous inertia. The impression of its inevitability is being created. A great deal of time has passed since the tragic events in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the psychological perception of all those terrible consequences which the atomic bombing of the Japanese cities caused has evidently been dulled. The militaristic forces, who have come to believe that there is nothing inhumane in the use of nuclear weapons, including such a barbarous one as the neutron bomb, and that nuclear war is not such a terrible thing, are making use of this. Illusions about the possibility of "small" local atomic wars are being spread.

The peaceloving forces must realize that action is better than inaction. More and more people must be drawn into the movement "against nuclear self-destruction". In Western Europe, the struggle against the plans to deploy new American nuclear missiles there is being expanded. The Israeli aggressors are finding themselves in a position of ever greater isolation. Demands are growing everywhere to take effective measures to stop the arms race.

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The international communist movement has fought for peace for many decades. And it is fighting successfully. Despite some costs, it is strengthening its ranks in this struggle. L. I. Brezhnev pointed out during the 26th CPSU Congress: "The consistent struggle of communists for peace and against imperialism's aggressive policy and the arms race which is bringing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe to people, is serving as the great unifying basis and a powerful factor for the further rallying and growth in the authority of the world communist movement".

The enormous mobilizing role of the CPSU and the international communist movement in the struggle for peace consists of the fact that their policy:

-- is responsive to the vital interests of the people of all countries who are yearning to strengthen peace;

-- provides for concrete measures aimed at preserving and expanding the relaxation of international tensions;

-- contains proposals which place barriers on the path of a further arms race;

-- calls upon the broad popular masses and all peaceloving forces to increase their actions against the threat of a thermonuclear war.

The CPSU and fraternal communist parties are doing everything to place a covering detachment on the path of military adventures and to preserve and strengthen peace on earth. The insurance of a stable peace has been and remains the primary direction of the agreed foreign policy of the socialist countries. L.I. Brezhnev's Crimean meetings with the leaders of fraternal parties and states in the socialist commonwealth underscored this with special force. All communists, who are contributing to the intensification of the popular masses' struggle against nuclear catastrophe and for the lessening of international tensions and the creation of a healthy political climate in the world, share their conviction.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Leninskiy sbornik XXXVII" [Leninist Collection No 37] p 249.
2. "Privetstviya XXVI s"yezdu KPSS ot kommunisticheskikh rabochikh, natsional'no-demokraticeskikh i sotsialisticheskikh partiy" [Greetings to the 26th CPSU Congress From Communist, Workers, National Democratic, and Socialist Parties], Moscow, 1981, pp 221-230.
3. Cf. BOL HEVIK , No 21, 1946, p 9.
4. THE TIMES, 6 March 1946. Here is how the English professor Z. Fleming interpreted this goal: "No matter where a communist movement arises, the United States will suppress it.... The United States has become a universal anticommunist, anti-Russian policeman" (Z.F. Fleming, "The Cold War: Its Origins, 1917-1960", Vol 1, London, 1961, p 446).
5. Cf. "XX s"yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. Stenograficheskii otchet" [The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A Stenographic Report], Vol 2, Moscow, 1956, pp 411 and 414.
6. "Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [The Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Moscow, 1976, p 59.
7. "Materialy XXVI s"yezdu KPSS" [Materials on the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 79.
8. Ibid., p 5.
9. PRAVDA, 10 May 1981.

10. "Vo imya mira na zembe. Sovetskiy Soyuz v borbe za mir i sotrudnichestvo narodov" [In the Name of Peace on Earth. The Soviet Union in the Struggle for Peace and the Cooperation of People], Book 1: 1971-1974, 1977, Moscow, pp 279, 280 and 282.
11. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rech'i i statii" [A Leninist Course. Speeches and Articles], Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 278.
12. "Materialy..." op cit., p 15.
13. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniya sochineniy [Complete Works], Vol 32, p 335.
14. Brezhnev, op. cit., Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, p 325.
15. "Materialy "... op cit. p 26.
16. It has been established that all the nuclear weapon test explosions, which have been conducted up to now, have lowered the ozone concentration in the protective layer of the atmosphere by three-five percent. If the atmosphere's ozone layer is disturbed by 30 - 50 percent, the intensity of severe ultra-violet radiation on the earth's surface will increase. Specialists consider that life on earth would hardly be possible under these conditions. Cf. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 15 April 1981, p 9.
17. Cf. MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN', No 3, 1980, p 10.
18. Brezhnev, op cit., Vol 4, p 296.
19. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 34, p 148.
20. Cf. for more details: V. V. Kortunov, "The CPSU in the Struggle for Relaxation: The Opposition of Two Trends in International Life," VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 10, 1980.
21. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 36, p 476.
22. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 16, p 11.
23. "Materialy..." pp 18-19.
24. Cf. V. V. Zagladin, "Changes in the World and the Communist Movement", RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYIY MIR, No 5, 1975, p 16.
25. Cf. "Mirovoy revolyutsionnyy protsess i sovremennost'" [The World Revolutionary Process and Today], Moscow, 1980, p 98.
26. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 49, p 337.
27. PRAVDA, 3 November 1981.

28. Ibid., 13 May 1981.
29. Cf. "Informatsionnoye soveshchaniye predstaviteley nekotorykh kompartiy v Pol'she v kontse sentyabrya 1947" [The Informational Meeting of Representatives of Several Communist Parties in Poland at the End of September 1947], Moscow, 1948, pp 9 and 10.
30. Cf. "Programmyye dokumenty bor'by za mir, demokratiyu i sotsializm" [Program Documents for the Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism], Moscow, 1961, p 86.
31. Cf. "Konferentsiya yevropeyskikh kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy po voprosam bezopasnosti v yevrope. Karlovy Vary, 24-26 aprelya 1967 goda" [The Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties on Security Questions in Europe. Karlovy Vary, 24-26 April 1967], Moscow, 1967, p 274.
32. Cf. "Konferentsiya kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy Yevropy. Berlin, 29 - 30 iyunya 1976 goda" [The Conference of Europe's Communist and Workers Parties. Berlin, 29-30 June 1976], 1977, p 19.
33. Cf. "Za svobodu, nezavisimost', natsional'noye vozrozhdeniye i sotsial'nyy progress narodov Tropicheskoy Yuzhnoy Afriki" [For the Freedom, Independence, National Rebirth, and Social Progress of the People of Tropical South Africa], Moscow, 1981, p 144.
34. "Konferentsiya kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy Yevropy", op. cit., p 20.
35. Cf. PRAVDA, 5 November 1981.
36. "Vstrecha kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy Yevropy za mir i Razoruzheniye (Parizh, 28-29 aprelya 1980 goda)" [Meeting of Europe's Communist and Workers Parties for Peace and Disarmament (Paris, 28-29 April 1980)], Moscow, 1980, p 91.
37. "Stroitel'stvo sotsializma i kommunizma i mirovoye razvitiye. sbornik materialov mezhdunarodnoy teoreticheskoy konferentsii, sostoyavsheysya v Sofii 12-15 dekabrya 1978" [The Construction of Socialism and Communism and Peaceful Development. Collection of Materials on an International Conference Held in Sofia, 12-15 December 1978], Sophia, 1978, p 49.
38. Cf. B. N. Ponomarev, "A Pact for Peace and a Pact for Aggression", PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 8, 1980, pp 3-10.
39. "Materialy..." op. cit., p 18.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. ATTACKED AS MAIN CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 56-64

[Article by V. Petrovskiy: "American Imperialism: The Tradition of Violence and Terror"]

[Excerpts] The International Gendarme

The terror and intolerance in domestic politics finds its expression in the foreign policy of the United States. The postwar foreign policy of the United States began with nuclear blackmail.

After occupying a dominant position in the capitalist world, American imperialism conceived the intention of using a "policy of strength" to stop the progressive movement of socialism and the development of the revolutionary process in the world.

When the White House found out about the invention by the Manhattan physicists of the atomic bomb, its bosses decided that there were no barriers to the realization of their plans. "If, as I believe it will, it explodes," H. Truman said before the test of the atomic bomb, "I will have, and I do not doubt it, a good club for those Russian fellows."

Total war with the Soviet Union becomes Washington's goal, Roosevelt's policy of peaceful American-Soviet cooperation is consigned to oblivion, and mad plans are born in the heads of politicians and military men and militarism becomes their religion.

The introduction into foreign policy of elements of terrorism and blackmail was manifested in an intensified militarization of the economy, in an increased political role for military institutions, and in the creation of what President D. Eisenhower later called the "military-industrial complex" in American society. This is the essence of the matter. More clearly than in any other capitalist country, it is in imperialist America that the state reorients itself in order to conduct a militant and expansionist foreign policy and a global offensive against socialism and against the gains of the liberated peoples.

The arms race is constantly heightened, and senseless attempts are made to undermine the strategic military equilibrium between the United States and the USSR

and to achieve at any cost a decisive military superiority. " . . . our old doctrine of a balance of forces is invalid. We can no longer rely on a negligible preponderance of strength." These words from Winston Churchill's "Fulton Speech" have now turned into a principle of United States military policy, but they also reveal the cheap deception to which responsible political leaders of that country are resorting today, referring in order to justify the arms race to a mythical "substantial" military superiority by the Soviet Union.

The whole of postwar experience shows that the ruling circles of the United States are powerless to undermine the world revolutionary process and to turn back the course of historical events.

The American strategy of a "local war" against the Vietnamese people led to a similar result. This was a very large and senselessly cruel mass terrorist action undertaken by the capitalist colossus against a small country. The Pentagon sent into Vietnam a fantastic amount of modern military equipment, terrible armadas of airplanes, tanks, and artillery, and a half million trained soldier-killers. It seemed to many foreign observers in the West that Vietnam would be swept off the face of the earth by this death-dealing avalanche, and, in any case, the White House and the Pentagon did not doubt that there would be a decisive and rapid victory.

However, the victory was not won by the United States, but by the Vietnamese people which enjoyed the comprehensive support of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist commonwealth. The sympathy of the progressive forces of the entire world were on its side. The balance of forces in this war was measured not so much by the amount of military equipment as by the strength of the soldiers' moral spirit. With respect to this important indicator, the superiority of the Vietnamese fighters over their opponent was indisputable.

More afraid of the sacred revenge of the Vietnamese fighters than of anything else in the world and stubbornly avoiding hand-to-hand skirmishes with them, the soldiers of the American army made up for their lack of fighting spirit with bestial reprisals against defenseless women and children, cruel tortures and humiliations of prisoners, the burning of villages, and the destruction of peasant settlements and forest tracts. This was the base vengeance of a cowardly army of aggressors for their defeats in battle. And the collapse of this army was a natural thing.

The counter-revolutionary possibilities of imperialism must not, of course, be underestimated. "The events of recent times confirm again and again," comrade L. I. Brezhnev observes, "that our class enemies are learning from their defeats. They are acting . . . with ever increasing sophistication and perfidy." Imperialism makes a careful study of the economic and ideological-political life of states which are struggling for their independence and, after finding vulnerable spots, it seeks to overthrow unsuitable governments, using methods of economic and political, as well as psychological and physical terror. The most dramatic example of this is the counter-revolutionary action of American imperialism in Chile where the United States intelligence services, after provoking an acute

crisis situation, created an active nucleus of counter-revolutionary forces. The present United States Administration which openly professes the cult of the iron fist both in domestic and in foreign policy is marked by an especially terroristic signature.

The anti-Libyan hysteria, the preparation of plans for an invasion of Cuba and Nicaragua, and the open support for extremists from "Solidarity" who were preparing a counter-revolutionary coup in Poland--all this is evidence that American imperialism makes use of any means and pretext to poison the international political atmosphere and to undermine the forces of socialism and progress.

As was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Adventurism, and a readiness to gamble with the vital interests of humanity in the name of its own narrow selfish goals--this is what shows up with especial nakedness in the policies of the most aggressive circles of imperialism. Demonstrating a complete disregard for the rights and hopes of the peoples, they are attempting to depict the liberation struggle of the popular masses as a manifestation of 'terrorism.' They have truly set themselves the goal of attaining the unattainable--to put a barrier in the way of progressive changes in the world and to get back for themselves the role of the rulers of the destinies of the peoples."

Today the scope of the secret diversionary activities of the United States in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has become even larger. International subversive activities by United States multi-national corporations which are carried out, as a rule, in close interaction with the CIA have become a new phenomenon. Practically any country which is struggling for its national independence, exactly in the same way as a developed capitalist country whose working class is threatening the foundations of capitalism, becomes an object for an imperialist conspiracy. It is precisely the agents of the international gendarmerie of the United States who carried out the physical elimination of many national leaders who were struggling for the freedom of their countries. Solomon Bandaranaike, Patrice Lumumba, Salvador Allende, Amilkar Kabral--these are only the best known names of leaders who perished at the hands of imperialist hirelings.

The facts indicate that the United States is hatching plans for direct intervention in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries of Western Europe in the event that an acute political crisis arises there. A circular under the code name of "Document No 100-1" which was recently published on the pages of the West German weekly TAT orders American forces which are located on the territory of the United States' allies to perform gendarme functions in the event of the "emergence of tensions." In accordance with this circular, they "have the right to occupy any area and any object which they regard as necessary for the accomplishment of their tasks."

Conducting subversive activities against progressive regimes everywhere in the world, the United States did not spare any means to help the reactionary, anti-popular regimes of South Korea, Chile, and El Salvador. While President J. Carter of the United States, at least symbolically, condemned these regimes, the present United States Administration is no longer beating about the bush in taking them

under its wing. The Secretary of State A. Haig recently stated with truly "fatherly" chagrin: "There are limits to our ability to transform other cultures, habits, and institutions." Authoritarian regimes are, of course, bad, but we, he said, cannot but respect the "national traditions" which lie at their basis. Such is the hypocrisy of bourgeois politicians.

The continuing undeclared war against the people's governments of Afghanistan and Angola, against Iran, the support for the bloody Salvadoran junta, the regular dispatch of hired murderers and diversionists to Cuba, Nicaragua, and other countries, protection of the Pol Pot executioners, actual support for the international terroristic actions of Israel, and connivance with the bandits from the American "Jewish Defense League"—all of this is testimony to the fact that it is not social transformations, but the preservation and strengthening of anti-popular regimes that comprises the content and goal of the United States foreign policy. For, if its flowery democratic dress is thrown off of it, the political regime which exists in the United States is a despotic anti-popular regime which in its cruelty and perfidy and in its scorn for human lives does not yield to the despotisms of Pinochet or Pol Pot. What is the "civilization" of the Washington politicians worth, if they frankly state the necessity of making increased preparations for a new world war and talk about the possibility of victory in a thermonuclear war?

American imperialism is now the chief bulwark of terrorist dictatorships everywhere in the world, and the chief center of international terror and violence in the struggle against peoples which are defending their right to an independent future. The mission of "defending the interests" of the United States has been put upon 2,500 military bases with a half million American servicemen. The recently created "Rapid Deployment Force" has the task of playing the role of an international punitive military unit. Thoroughly strengthening and expanding the role of international gendarme which it has taken upon itself, Washington has developed a plan for an accelerated increase in its military strength in Western Europe, the Far East, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. A giant policeman with outstretched billy club over the earth--this is the present appearance of American imperialism in the eyes of all of the peoples of the world.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. SEEKS DEPENDENT CHINA AS SOURCE OF RAW MATERIALS

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 19 Feb 82 pp 1-2

[Article by V. Ganshin: "Ambitions, What Price?"]

[Text] The US and some other NATO countries have started recently to display special concern about early modernization of the Chinese armed forces. According to the American FEDERAL REGISTER magazine, one of major steps in this direction was the decision of the US Administration to strike off China from the list of countries whom the State Department denies licences and other permits for importing military equipment and facilities from the United States. The revision of the law on control of weapons exports to China by the White House is regarded by experts and analysts as an "essentially new stage in Sino-American cooperation."

So, Chinese brass have received wide access to the Pentagon's arsenals. However, to embark on reequipment of its army, Peking will need tremendous amounts of money, something which it currently lacks. Where is the way out? Western experts suggest quite a simple solution. According to a WASHINGTON POST military observer, China should be mining and selling strategic raw materials to the US and other NATO members.

Some analysts believe that before long China may become an important supplier of non-ferrous and rare metals, such as titanium, vanadium, tantalum and uranium, to the world capitalist market. According to estimates, China exported about 300 million dollars' worth of these metals in the first half of last year, which is a fifty percent increase over the relevant figure for 1980. This item of Chinese exports is expected to top the one billion dollar mark in value terms this year. China's sales of uranium to South Africa have received broad publicity. The racist regime acquired the first consignment of enriched uranium from the promised 70 tons. Although Peking does its utmost to conceal the fact of selling strategic raw materials and does not publicise contacts in that field, a number of signs strongly suggest the conclusion that the country's leadership is extremely interested in this.

While economists, geologists and power engineers are compiling reports and estimating the potential resources and commercially operative deposit of scarce raw materials in China, politicians in the West are analyzing the possible ways of using contacts in this field for strengthening China's dependence

on imperialist states. The NATO quarters do not conceal their hope that the supplies of strategic raw materials from China will enable the North Atlantic Alliance to largely influence Peking's foreign policies and to tie up China's military programme to the West.

The decision of the US Administration to step up the development of military ties with China and NATO's plans for contributing to an accelerated militarisation of that country encounter differing reaction in the West. It is stressed in a report compiled by the Senate foreign relations committee and the research service of the US Congress that the factors influencing the present American military policy with regard to China can swiftly change. A militarily strong China could become a serious obstacle in the way of ensuring the interests of the United States and its allies, stresses the report. On the other hand, it is national sovereignty and the interests of their people that those in Peking who have been blinded with the ambitious plans for turning the country into a military super-power would have to sacrifice as payment for the deliveries of modern military hardware.

CSO: 1812/59

INTERNATIONAL

BASMACHI IN AFGHANISTAN, SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA COMPARED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by B. Tulepbayev, correspondent member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Break-Up of the Basmachi"]

[Text] The word "Basmach" comes from the Turkic verb "basmak" which means "to put pressure on", "to oppress", and "to coerce". Among the peoples of Central Asia, the meaning of "basmach" means "a robber", "a bandit", "a brigand", and "a ravisher". Even quite recently it seemed that "basmach" -- a specific phenomenon which was born under the special conditions of the struggle to establish and consolidate Soviet power in the Central Asian region and one of the forms of the civil war which was unleashed by the forces of counterrevolution and international reaction -- had long ago become the property of history.

However, the subsequent development of the world revolutionary process has shown that analogous manifestations of this desperate resistance, which the exploiting -- feudal and ancestor tribal -- elements who are being actively supported in this by imperialism are trying to show to the progressive changes, are typical of a number of developing countries in Asia and Africa. The common character of Basmach with those reactionary actions, which the combined forces of international imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and internal counterrevolution are now taking against the popular authorities in Afghanistan, is being demonstrated most graphically. It is no accident that the Afghan dushmani, who are armed with American and Chinese money, are today often called basmachi.

This attaches special topicality to the book by A. I. Zevelev, Yu. A. Polyakov and A. I. Chugunov, doctors of historical sciences.

The struggle against basmach in our Central Asia continued for a long time. It began in 1917 immediately after the October victory, reached its climax during the civil war, and subsided during the first half of the Twenties when the basmach bands, who had taken shelter abroad, temporarily halted their active operations. However, at the end of the Twenties -- beginning of the Thirties, basmach

* "Basmachestvo: Vozniknoveniye, Sushchnost', Krakh" [Basmach: Origin, Essence, Break-up], edited by Academician I. Mintsa, Moscow, "Nauka", 1981.

detachments, who were sent by international imperialism, penetrated from abroad and again disrupted the peaceful work in a number of rayons in Central Asia.

The feudal elements, the ancestral nobility, owners of large tracts of land, the local national bourgeoisie which were springing up, the emir and khan bureaucrats, and the reactionary part of the Moslem clergy were the social basis of basmach. Deprived of their wealth and privileges by the revolution, they became its sworn enemies and the majority of the basmach leaders came from their midst. Bourgeois nationalists were the basmach ideological leaders.

Basmach -- and this is shown in the book -- lives like a parasite on the ignorance of the masses and their general illiteracy and on their economic, political and cultural backwardness. It is also impossible to underestimate the importance of terror with whose help the basmach force dekhkan (peasants) to join their detachments. Coercion, intimidation and the use of hostages led to thousands of people, who hated the basmach, joining their ranks against their will, and then finding the return path to a peaceful life with great difficulty. One must recognize that the broad support from without is the main factor which causes the tenacity of basmach. Anglo-American imperialism came forward as the true organizer and inspiration of basmach and provided and supplied the bands with guns, ammunition, clothing, money, and advisors.

The book convincingly demonstrates that the ruling circles of the imperialist states allotted an important role to basmach in their anti-Soviet plans during the struggle for the victory of the October revolution, the years of the civil war and the subsequent historical stages. First, imperialism tried with their help to prevent the victory of the Soviet authorities in Central Asia and to found a "new colonial power" here; and subsequently -- to delay the construction of socialism and to create a large anti-Soviet springboard.

The authors have devoted a great deal of attention to the study of the objective and subjective factors which historically conditioned the break-up of basmach. The irresistible strength of the Soviet system; the moral, political, social, and economic superiority of socialism; and the steadfastness and courage of the working class who rallied all the workers of Central Asia around the Leninist party were demonstrated quite distinctly during the struggle against them. The Russian and Uzbek worker, the Ukrainian peasant and Bukharskiy craftsmen, the Belorussian teacher and Kazakh shepherd, and the Tajik "red baton" and Turkmen volunteer fought hand-to-hand against the basmach. The great friendship of the USSR peoples, which has become the guarantee of the invincibility of the Soviet system, reached manhood and was tempered during this struggle.

The break-up of basmach was historically ordained and unavoidable. The book convincingly proves this conclusion.

8802

CSO: 1800/265

INTERNATIONAL

TURKMEN CLAIMS WEST EXPLOITS ISLAMIC REVIVAL

Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 18 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by K. Bagdasarov, director of the Sector for Scientific Communism and Criticism of Foreign Ideology of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the TSSR Academy of Sciences: "Islam in the Plans of Anti-Communism"]

[Text] The tumultuous socio-political events in the Middle East in which the slogans of Islam are widely used and in which political programs have a religious character have strongly disquieted ruling circles in the West. By connecting these events with a "revival of Islam" bourgeois ideology and propaganda hope to strengthen the role of the Muslim religion in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and real socialism. The anti-communists connect their objective primarily with the anti-scientific, idealistic concept of Islam.

Anti-communist ideology considers religion one of the barriers to acquainting workers in capitalistic and developing countries with the Marxism-Leninism world-view. Imperialism is trying to support the active implementation of the religious world-view in order to establish hostile anticommunist forces. Using Islam is a component of the strategy of imperialism. This strategy has in view the role played by the Islamic religion in a number of foreign, Western countries. As shown by research, Islam is not limited to satisfying only religious desires but also puts forth "laws" directed at all aspects of personal life.

In a number of countries a characteristic of national liberation movements is their frequent emergence under the banner of Islam. As for this, the Muslim clergy are used in order to promote Islam and give to them the feeling of attaining their "special mission" in history. Bourgeois ideologists, exploiting this, use this situation in order to defuse the deep socio-economic class reasons for the revolutionary emergence of the masses.

But the source of revolutionary national liberation movements in the East stems not from religion but from genuine economic, political and cultural-ideological factors. Based on the specifics of Iran's historical development, the Muslim clergy's leadership of the anti-imperialistic movement against the Shah in the country is a different question.

It is important to note that social movements under the banner of religion are neither a new occurrence nor a characteristic of the East. When political and cultural inequities among the peoples' masses and a lack of legal opposition parties exist, a situation can be created where the clergy become the initiators and leaders of an anti-imperialistic and anti-monarchic struggle through the traditional authority of the Muslim religion. Such a situation took place in Iran. But the religious coloration of the anti-imperialistic struggle in Iran must not conceal the role of the working class, the peasants, the urban petite bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, the students and the women who were the basic forces in this struggle. Only these forces made known the basic demands of the revolutionary line in the development of the country. In defining and propagandizing this line, the Peoples Party of Iran has played and is playing an important role.

In correctly stating the role played by Islam in today's ideo-political struggle in developing countries, two facets must be defined. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 26th CPSU Congress: "One can spread a liberation movement under the banner of Islam. The experience of history, even recent history, shows this. However, the experience demonstrates that the slogans of reaction and Islam are supporting counterrevolutionary uprisings. In other words, the whole thing rests in the nature of the real content of such a movement." For example, enemies of the people's revolution veil their atrocities against a peaceful population with the name of Allah. Despite their true banditry, they portray themselves as "fighters for religion." Connected with this, it is appropriate to note the hypocrisy of the American leaders. They declare America to be a "friend" of the Muslims, but they pay blood-money to those wreaking vengeance on believing Muslims who support the people's government in Afghanistan.

Thus, Islam can serve as a screen for internal bourgeois-feudal reaction and international imperialism directed against the national liberation movement and democratic and socialist forces.

The effort of imperialism with its anticommunist, anti-Soviet goal is united by various economic, political and ideological means. For example, American propaganda spreads empty information to persuade this country that there is a "Soviet threat" in order to increase anti-Soviet forces in Iran.

The goal of the leaders of imperialism and Peking consists of supporting the reactionary and fanatic elements in the Islamic movement by all means and turning the Islamic movement into a political struggle against democratic parties and organizations in developing countries. Reaction attempts to exploit religious fanaticism and nationalism to the maximum extent with this objective.

As is known, one must differentiate between the nationalism of nations ruled by lords and the nationalism of oppressed nations. "Every bourgeois nationalism of an oppressed nation has a common-democratic component which opposes oppression; according to this...we support this content without ado," wrote V. I. Lenin. (V. I. Lenin, Works, trans 4th ed V 20, p 432). Marxist-Leninists do not completely support the nationalism of oppressed nations; they only support anti-imperialistic, anti-colonial and common democratic elements within them.

Contrary to this, anticommunists attempt to destroy these progressive elements. They try to turn nationalism into a total weapon of struggle against the world communists and workers movement and the socialist camp. Imperialistic propaganda slanders the building of socialism in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Imperialistic propaganda spreads a concept of "national Islamic socialism" which is not based on Marxism-Leninism but on the religion of Islam.

The propagandizing of "Islamic socialism" creates a bond between the national liberation movement and the communist movement. The concept of "national Islamic socialism" in developing countries creates an obstacle to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. These ideas are used to struggle against countries leaning in a socialistic direction.

In addition, the propaganda of "Islamic socialism" has as its goal the creation of a concept of nationalism in the minds of the peoples of the Soviet East and the weakening of socialist internationalism. Bourgeois ideologists, when propagandizing "Islamic socialism" and an Islamic culture for the Soviet nations of Central Asia, call these nations "Muslim" nations. They put forth the idea that representatives of these peoples who have themselves cast off the Muslim religion have lost their own nation. They attempt to "prove" that the nations of the Turkmens, Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Tajiks do not fit into a scientific-atheistic, Marxist-Leninist world-view. According to the ideas of the anticommunists, Islam was the "one and only" way of life for the nations of Central Asia.

The supposition about the Muslim character of the contemporary socialist nations of Central Asia and Dazakhstan is completely false because it is incorrect to equate the Islamic religion with a nation. Religion itself is a form of antiscientific thought; as for a nation, it is an historical community of men; in other words, it is a community on a clear economic-territorial base. The concept of the Soviet socialist nations of Central Asia and their national cultures is not based on the Islamic religion but on Marxist-Leninist ideology. Under conditions of socialism men everywhere in our country have, on the whole, voluntarily cast off religion. The majority of Soviet men from all nations are not educated on the basis of the empty words of religion, but on the basis of scientific knowledge.

But the enemies of socialism attempt to exploit outdated religious concepts. They try to create national hostility in the USSR with the aid of Islam. Anti-communist propaganda slanders the Leninist national policy of the USSR and falsifies the basic meaning of socialist nations.

Imperialistic propagande, moving together with the Peking chauvinists and aggressors, angrily attacks the mentality of Soviet men. As the ideological struggle intensifies, one must strengthen atheistic education and speak out against the poison of religion and harmful vestiges of the past; one must make men think about the truth of the so-called "holy places," and reveal the lying swindles of those concealing themselves under the veil of "friends of Islam."

NATIONAL

HIGH DROPOUT RATES IN ATHEIST EDUCATION REPORTED

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 82 pp 20-21

[Column by V. Kondakov, "Responsibility for the Lecturer"]

[Excerpts] The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Further Improving Ideological, Political-Educational Work" required party organizations and ideological institutions to take concrete steps in improving all this work so as to ensure its high scientific level.

At the present time, more than a thousand propagandists of Znaniye Society conduct scientific-atheistic work in Bryanskaya Oblast. Basically, these are instructors from VUZ's and tekhnikums, teachers; lecturers also include medical workers and agricultural specialists. Last year they read more than 7,000 lectures.

In general, the work would not appear to be organized badly. Here are some figures. In the past few years, the faculty of scientific atheism graduated only 118 persons of the 150 that were admitted; the rest left their studies. The reason—a formal attitude toward the selection of students; people were registered who were not interested in atheistic work. Or take, for example, the school of the young atheist lecturer in Sovetskiy Rayon of Bryansk. By the end of the first school half year, only 11 of 25 persons remained here; in addition, organizers lack the confidence that they will complete their studies. If there be added to this the fact that of this number only isolated persons become lecturers, it then is not difficult to see how effective the training of propagandists is here. As a result, there are in the oblast at the present time not more than a hundred sufficiently qualified lecturers. And of these, half speak only once or twice a year.

Of course, the success of lecturing propaganda does not depend solely on the number of talks. But, when a sociological study was carried out in Novozybkovskiy Rayon on the effectiveness of atheistic work, a curious picture emerged. Lectures on the international situation and on social-political themes were eagerly attended both by believers and by nonbelievers. But more than two-thirds of city and rural inhabitants of those surveyed have not attended a single lecture on an atheistic theme in two years.

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CSO: 1800/325

MOLDAVIAN CP SECRETARY SEES ATTITUDES AS KEY TO PRODUCTIVITY

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOTIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian on 23 February carries on page 2 a 2,400-word interview with B. N. Savochko, a Moldavian CP Central Committee secretary, entitled "To Economize Means to Search." In his responses, Savochko stressed that even if all other inputs remain the same, changes in worker attitudes can result in increased productivity. He also reported that certain informal working groups could on occasion enhance production and criticized those who considered enterprise reviews as simply a "parade."

SOLOUKHIN ATTACKS MODERNISM, DEFENDS RUSSIAN TRADITION

[Editorial Report] Moscow NASH SOVREMENNİK in Russian, No 1, January 1982, carries on pages 18-126 a 90,000-word work by Vladimir Soloukhin entitled "The Prolongation of Time, Letters From Various Places." In a series of essays cast in the form of letters, Soloukhin attacks various kinds of modernism in culture and the arts, criticizes the destruction and misuse of Russian cultural and historical monuments, and decries contemporary inattention to and disrespect for the Russian past. He gives particular attention to the need to restore Russian religious architecture--including crosses--and to maintain the Russian classics in the central theaters. [COPYRIGHT: "Nash sovremennik", 1982]

CSO: 1800/355

REGIONAL

DEMIRCHYAN ADDRESSES TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 29 Jan 82 p 2

[Speech by the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Armenia comrade Demirchyan at the 16th Congress of Armenian Trade Unions on 28 January 1982;]

[Excerpts] We have to be more persistent in pursuing the course which has been taken by us of increasing the production of types of output which have a low level of materials, energy, and labor intensiveness. We have to constantly seek to increase its equipment and intellect intensiveness.

We have to obtain the highest effect from every hectare of land and from every cubic meter of water--the maximum possible harvest, and the maximum animal husbandry output.

We have to build rapidly, with good quality, and inexpensively, and, at the same time, with architectural expressiveness and unity; we have to build for the ages.

We have to obtain a maximum return from every kilowatt-hour of electric energy, from every ton of metal, cement, and fuel, and from every cubic meter of gas.

All of this, I repeat, can only be achieved by us if we work everywhere conscientiously, with discipline and organization, and with high productivity and quality. In a word, efficiently and fruitfully.

Of course, the path to the attainment of this large goal is not simple. For the high efficiency and fruitfulness of the labor of any person and of the work of any enterprise is a derivative from the action of a large number of social and economic factors and, in particular, such factors as skills, the technical level and standard of production, labor organization and discipline, and so forth.

It has to be said that considerable successes have been achieved in all of these directions. And the trade unions have made a large contribution to this. However, that which has been done we regard today as insufficient. A thorough improvement of the qualifications and overall training of workers is dictated by the high demands of the scientific and technological revolution and by the very character of contemporary production. And if the above-mentioned conception of the development of the republic's economy which is demanding a high level of qualifications and knowledge from workers is considered, then it will become understandable why this is such a vital problem for us.

A high level of qualifications in the workers is in a certain sense everything for production; it is the basis for highly productive and high quality labor, a guarantee of the accomplishment of any difficult technical and technological task, and the very basis of an enterprise's possibility of constantly improving its output, mastering new types of it, and improving quality. Nor must it be forgotten that workers with a high level of professional training and competence participate more actively and fruitfully in the management and development of production.

The enormous total effect which is obtained from the high professional training of workers is indisputable and completely obvious. But, unfortunately, there are some places in our republic in production where this very important factor of the successful work of an enterprise is lost sight of, and the necessary work is not done on constantly improving the qualifications and technical and economic knowledge of workers and the professional level of specialists, forgetting that this is one of the most urgent demands of the time. Technological progress and the creation of complex contemporary high quality types of output is impossible at any enterprise without a rise in the qualifications and cultural and technical level of the members of the labor collective. On the other hand, even the most "intelligent" machines will not produce the necessary effect if there are no qualified people to operate them. It has been calculated that the contemporary scientific and technological revolution gives birth to no less than 500 new professions annually whose mastery requires great technical knowledge and abilities. In order to ensure the normal functioning of the production organism it is necessary to have a flexible system of training and improving the qualifications of cadres which is sensitive to technological progress. This truth has to be constantly remembered in all of the leadership echelons of the economy.

It seems to us, that the trade unions, particularly the branch ones, are obliged to take untiring supervision of this matter and along with party organizations to see to it that the appropriate serious, thoughtful, and systematic and consistent work is performed at all enterprises and on all farms.

In our day of rapid technological progress, as never before, a consistent improvement of the standard of labor and production is required. It goes without saying that in most cases where this standard is low there can be no stable success, failures and defective work are inevitable there, and it is impossible to produce high quality output there. Take any lagging enterprise and you will be convinced of this. At such an enterprise both the standard of production and the standard of labor as a whole are usually low. Without active and effective measures to improve the standard of production it is impossible to ensure normal production activity in an enterprise and, especially, to bring it out among the front runners.

The prospects for the development of our economy are connected in the closest way with the solution of the important problem of accelerating technological progress. The struggle for technological progress is that chief direction of work which has to be constantly strengthened and expanded.

A large amount of work has been performed by us in this field. For example, in industry as a whole during the 10th Five-Year Plan 135 enterprises and 1,764 shops were reconstructed and reequipped, 360 mechanized and automated flow lines and 107 overall mechanized shops and sectors were introduced, 4,000 units of production equipment were modernized, the computer pool reached almost 200 units, and every third workplace is equipped with regard to the demands of scientific labor organization. Nevertheless, in the next few years we shall have to do even more in this field, particularly, accelerate the equipment renewal rates, and develop and carry out special-purpose overall programs for reducing manual labor and low skill labor, having in mind the fact that the proportion of manual labor in production is still quite large.

We are waiting for greater effectiveness from the work of scientific research institutions, including academic institutes, specialized laboratories, and design and production bureaus in developing the latest production processes and equipment models which reduce the expenditure of materials and electric energy and sharply increase labor productivity. Here are examples which testify not only to how little attention is still being devoted to these important issues, but also, let us be frank, to a disgraceful use and spoilage of valuable raw materials. At the Spitskiy Elevator Building Plant the metal use coefficient comes to less than 25 percent in the production of rods, not more than 35-40 percent in the production of brake couplings, and the remainder goes for waste. At the Leninakan "Strommashina" Plant the coefficient of the use of rolled metal in hot stamping comes to .43 and to .40 in forging, and the physical rate of the parts exceeds that stipulated by the blueprints by 18-20 percent. As you see, while everywhere in the country a stubborn struggle is taking place for an economy of raw materials, at some of our enterprises, on account of their technical backwardness, a large amount of metal is just simply thrown out. In our age of technological progress you cannot call this anything else but "technical barbarism."

The trade unions cannot stand aside from the solution of these extremely important production problems. It is they who have to show persistence in an economical use of raw materials and energy and other resources, directing the efforts and energy of competitors, rationalizers, and inventors toward this.

It is the duty and an affair of honor for the trade unions to show concern about protecting labor and easing working conditions, improving safety techniques, and eliminating cases of production injuries. During the past five-year plan, considerable success was achieved in this matter--working conditions were improved for more than 100,000 workers, and cases of production injuries were substantially reduced. The hygienic conditions for workers were improved, and the network of polyclinics, hospitals, medical points, and rest bases and pioneer camps was expanded.

Basing themselves on the positive experience they have gained, the trade unions should strengthen their supervision even more over the fulfillment of the overall plans for improving labor conditions and sanitation measures, and keep a strict watch out to see that enterprises are equipped with new equipment that takes account of the system of labor safety standards which is being introduced into the economy and the demands of medicine, ergonomics, and technical aesthetics.

The trade union organizations have the task of consistently working on improving the life of the workers, providing them with housing, and creating the material base for the organization of their cultural and health recreation, sanatorium-health resort treatment, physical culture and sports, and summer recreation for their children. If necessary, they have to go to the highest levels of their ministries and departments for a favorable solution of these problems. For all of this greatly helps to stabilize labor collectives and reduce labor turnover.

In speaking about housing I would like to especially attract the attention of the construction worker trade unions to this question, hoping that they will better understand the concerns of their colleagues and those difficulties which puzzle them when because of the disruption or non-fulfillment of construction plans the housing conditions of many workers are not improved on time. And I think it would be correct and just if this congress were to demand from the construction worker trade unions to work in such a way as to absolutely fulfill the plans for the construction of housing and other social-domestic and cultural facilities. For it is precisely upon the construction workers that the accomplishment of this very important social task chiefly depends.

The trade unions have great possibilities and a considerable number of tested means of influencing all of the decisive spheres of production and social life. However, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the trade unions sometimes are so lacking in initiative in using their broad rights. They are not always persistent in the issues of fulfilling collective agreements and labor protection, and they still react weakly to cases of violations of labor law, bureaucratism, and red-tape.

Strengthening their supervision over all of the issues of the work, life, and everyday life of people, the trade unions have to act resolutely every time when an enterprise leader violates the requirements of the labor law and forgets about the social needs of the workers.

Unfortunately, we have still not gotten fully rid everywhere of such negative phenomena as mismanagement, wastefulness, the theft of socialist property, bribe-taking, and various kinds of violations. For a number of years now a consistent and resolute struggle has been waged in the republic against these and all other negative phenomena. It has undoubtedly produced positive results which is witnessed both by the statistical data and by the improvement of matters in the vast majority of objects where the negative manifestations made themselves especially felt.

Despite all this, we cannot say that the desired effectiveness has been achieved by us in this struggle and that everywhere there has been established a real barrier against recidivists of these and other negative phenomena, and that all of the loopholes have been closed for obtaining income not derived from labor and for any encroachments upon socialist property. It is our firm conviction that this can only be achieved with the active support and participation of the public and the broad strata of the workers. After all, all of these things that are

making us indignant are taking place not in a vacuum, but at enterprises, and frequently before the eyes of the members of a collective. Consequently, it is not enough to get angry and to speak about shortcomings, violations, and thefts; it is necessary to struggle against all of this evil, to struggle concretely and boldly, and to struggle above all at one's work sector.

It is precisely because of the lack of an uncompromising struggle that the following facts, for example, became possible. In 1980 ten cases of theft, embezzlement, and shortages were discovered in the system of the Ministry of Industrial Construction. Relatively recently cases of major thefts were established also in the "Armneaud" Trust and at a number of enterprises and organizations of the State Committee for Agricultural Equipment and the Main Administration for Armenian Hydro-Construction.

Large losses and unproductive expenditures took place, in particular, at the enterprises of the "Armptitseprom" Administration. At the Dzhraratskiy Poultry Factory, for example, in 1980 losses from the loss of poultry reached almost 1.7 million rubles, while, at the same time, an overexpenditure, or more correctly, the squandering of 8,182 tons of feed was permitted. Quite a few cases of embezzlement and theft have been discovered in the system of enterprises of the Ministry of Procurements and in other places.

The workers guilty of violations and abuses, whether they were leaders or ordinary workers, suffered a deserved punishment. But this is not the point. The question arises: Could such things be done with the full ignorance of the workers of the above-mentioned enterprises? Of course, not. And if this is so, then is it possible that none of those who knew and saw how public property was being stolen and what losses and idleness was taking place, what losses were being born by the enterprise, felt the sting of conscience, that no one had enough daring to show courage with stern criticism and demand that order be brought? I am sure that there are quite a few such people whose consciences rose up against these phenomena; but they, unfortunately, did not condemn them publicly, and did not catch the criminals by the arm, believing, apparently, that the struggle against such facts was only for those who had been invested with special authority.

Or how is it possible today to say seriously that we are working concretely on economizing fuel and energy resources, if only last year there were numerous instances of the wasteful expenditure of electric energy by the Charentsavanskiy Tool Plant, the Yerevan Watch Plant, the Yerevan Jewelry Factory, the "Idahevanskiy entonit" Combine, the Leninakan Garment Factory, and the Yerevan Musical Instruments Factory which paid substantial fines for this.

A large number of enterprises paid large fines for shipping poor quality output, disrupting supply plans, and keeping railroad cars idle.

Today at the congress it is essential to pose sharply the question of strengthening universal worker control which to date is operating weakly and indecisively. Take the same sphere of services. Is it under its watchful eye and does it feel its severity, implacability, and influence? We need worker's control not for the sake

of form, but so that it will with its iron hand everywhere uproot the negative and discover all of those who are living as parasites on the body of society. It is precisely this kind of uncompromising, effective, and truthful, like the worker's soul itself, worker's control that we need.

Trade union organizations have to persistently cultivate in workers an active life position and a feeling of personal responsibility for their work, to raise their civic consciousness to a new level, and to achieve a profound awareness by absolutely all members of collectives of their obligations and duties to take care of and strengthen socialist property and to struggle against all negative facts in production and in social life.

The party's course aimed at increasing the efficiency of the economy, shifting it to a primarily intensive path of development, and turning it decisively in the direction of efficiency and quality requires an improvement of work at all of the sectors of communist construction, the raising to a new level of the integration of science and production, an acceleration of the reorganization of the economic mechanism, and overcoming the force of the inertia of the traditions, habits, and stereotypes which were characteristic of that period when it was not so much the qualitative as the quantitative side of the matter that was at the forefront. It is important that the shift to the intensive and qualitative factors be accompanied by a deep understanding by everybody, from the worker to the minister, of the essence of the new period in the development of our economy so that the consciousness of their role in social progress brings its psychological and moral correctives into the attitude of each one to the quality of his own work. And this is an inexhaustible reserve for increasing the production of output and improving the quality of labor.

The good tradition should be established at our enterprises of properly evaluating the work of everybody and of overcoming a conciliatory attitude toward those who work slackly, loaf, and produce poor quality output. An end has to be put to leveling, and the system of moral and material encouragement for conscientious and quality work has to be perfected. It is necessary for people to have a good knowledge of the achievements of advanced workers and to measure themselves by them so that in everyone that burns the fire of the prestige of his enterprise and he roots with all his heart for its success.

The successes of recent years which have been achieved by our republic we rightly tie in to a large extent with the good and well-conceived organization of socialist competition. A vivid testimony of its national character is the fact that the number of competitors in the republic have now exceeded one million, and the participants of the movement for a communist attitude toward labor number 600,000 people. Competition has begun not only to embrace ever more categories of workers, but is also being filled with a new content and is being coordinated more closely with the most important directions of the party's economic policy. However, unfortunately, not everywhere has it received the necessary scope and does it operate with the necessary effectiveness. The trade unions to which the party has entrusted the organization of socialist competition are obliged to resolutely eliminate shortcomings in this matter, to reject outmoded forms and methods of directing it, to struggle against all manifestations of formalism, and everywhere ensure the effectiveness and mass nature and the publicity and comparability of the results of labor rivalry.

REGIONAL

ESTONIAN MINISTER CITES SHORTCOMINGS IN PHYSICAL CULTURE

Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 5 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by Juhan Unger, chairman of ESSR Committee on Physical Culture and Sports: "Physical Culture In Our Daily Lives"]

[Text] Although the number of physical culture activists, practicing sportsmen, badge holders of the VTK, /(GTO) Prepared for Labor and the Defense of the USSR/ and qualified sportsmen has increased in our republic, and although sports competitions and popular sports events in work and study collectives have become more numerous, there are still very extensive reserves for getting people, especially young people, to participate systematically in physical culture events.

The ECP Central Committee and ESSR Council of Ministers have issued a directive "On the Further Increase of the Massive Character of Physical Culture and Sports in the Republic" which stresses the need for a common front of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and sports organizations in arriving at solutions for the physical culture problems. I think that precisely this common front holds the key for rapidly improving the situation. In all of our towns and rayons there are committees of popular sports and VTK whose task is the coordination of the work of the above-mentioned organizations in the field of sports popularization. The results of socialist competitions between towns and rayons have shown in recent years that the success of sports organizations is directly related to the activities of the popular and VTK committees of the various towns or rayons. Many questions that a sports organization cannot solve on its own are taken care of by the popular sports or VTK commission. The part played by the commissions is especially noteworthy in establishing and maintaining sports facilities and in organizing large, town- or rayon-wide sports competitions or massive popular sports events.

For years Tartu, Harju, Rapla, Parnu, and Polva Rayons have been leaders in socialist competition involving the development of physical culture and sports. The success of these rayons depends essentially on the party leadership of physical culture and sports activity, carried out through the popular sports and VTK committee. In Tartu Rayon that committee is headed by L. Puksa, first secretary of the ECP rayon committee; in Harju Rayon the chairman is ECP rayon secretary T. Tali; in Rapla it is I. Eesik, chairman of the rayon soviet; in Polva the chairmen are deputy chairmen of the rayon soviet V. Oigus and J. Haelme.

Recently the republic council on popular sports and healthful vacation reviewed the work of the Paide Rayon physical culture and VTK commission (headed by rayon soviet chairman J. Mets). We acquired a detailed knowledge of the thoroughness with which the necessary development of sports facilities has been planned in the rayon, and how the facilities of enterprises and collectives have been joined for that end. The personnel policy in the Paide Rayon has been developed farsightedly, including above all measures to secure personnel stability. A sports competition system including all agencies, enterprises and collectives of the rayon has been developed. The review of the activity of the popular sports and VTK commission of Paide Rayon showed that the rayon has developed a comprehensive plan which, upon implementation, should raise the rayon to the forefront in the republic.

The commissions on popular culture and VTK do not work with equal activity in all the towns and rayons. It is here that there exists a considerable reserve for improving the party leadership of the physical culture and sports movement, and for raising the work effectiveness of physical culture and sports organizations.

There are numerous agencies, enterprises and collectives in the republic where sports have been well organized for years. This is greatly dependent on the interest that the leadership has in sports. Where the management correctly understands the importance of physical culture and sports in the establishment of a collective, in raising the effectiveness of production, in improving the stability of personnel, there one can find means to establish sports facilities, hire instructors and trainers, organize inter-facility meets and popular culture events. On the basis of the results of the last five-year period we can say that we currently have several ministries and collectives where physical culture and sports have become integral parts of the daily life of collectives. Sports activity is well organized in the network of the ESSR Agro-Technical Committee. For years the EPT collectives at Tamsalu, Parnu, Kadrina, Poltsamaa, Paide, etc. have been role models. Physical culture work is well organized also in the construction collectives of the "Estonian Kolkhoz Construction." Both agencies have made a great contribution in establishing sports facilities in our rural communities. There is systematic, well-planned work to develop physical culture and sports. Indicators of physical culture and sports have been included in all plans for economic and social development of all sub-units, and much attention is paid to meeting these goals. Here we have an example worthy of following, since we do not see such an attitude toward physical culture and sports in several ministries and agencies of the republic.

Unfortunately there are still many enterprises, agencies and collectives where sports activity is lagging. There are virtually no intraagency events and only a few employees participate in town or rayon events. VTK badge requirements are not met. There are not even the most primitive facilities for physical activity.

In several physical culture collectives existing means and facilities are used only to support individual sportsmen, or for increasing the proficiency of teams. There are also instances where sportsmen who gather all the attention and care have come to the collective from the outside, after having retired from top level sporting. For that reason they lack ties to the labor collective. Of course, top sportsmen cannot be abandoned by collectives. A team or a champion who has grown out of an agency will serve as a great example and is the best propaganda for physical culture and sports.

The directive requires that town and rayon party committees and soviets must sharply increase their demands on the leadership of agencies, enterprises and collectives and their party committees in the field of physical culture development.

The improvement of the physical culture collectives that are lagging represents a large reserve for implementing the joint directive of the ECP Central Committee and the ESSR Council of Ministers.

In recent years there have been some positive shifts also in organizing physical culture and sports among students. Interest in sports was increased by the Moscow Olympics and the Olympic regatta in Tallinn. The movement "Olympics for Everyone" included a large number of students. More than 18,000 students of elementary grades participated in additional sports instruction that took place at the expense of sports organizations. Beginning with this school year the number of students in the republic's sports schools increased, climbing to 30,000. The intra and inter-school sports competition system was reorganized.

In spite of the measures taken things are far from rosy regarding massive sports activity of the students. Only 52 of the 310 rural schools have a gymnasium (12 x 24 meters), 85 have smaller gymnasiums. The meeting of VTK requirements is limited by a lack of indoor swimming pools and rifle ranges in several towns and rayons.

Comparing sports activity among the various schools we see that the material base is by far not a sole determinant. Much is dependent on the professionalism of physical education teachers, their attitude toward work, and the assistance and support rendered by school management.

A large and virtually untapped reserve includes the expansion of popular sports activity by various sports branches. The orienteering federations (chairman H. Kask) is a positive example. For years the federation has done much to propagate its activities. There are massive competitions with youths and adults starting side by side, as do sports activists without any qualification and champions. Much is being done to organize meets on a self-help basis. Unfortunately, jogging has not become popular. And yet it is available for everyone. Without regard for gender, age, or level of training everyone carries the optimum burden on the track. Our sports organization and also the track and field federation have done impermissibly little to popularize jogging. Seldom and very few are the joggers we meet in parks, forest paths and streets.

Skiing, bicycling, gymnastics and ball game participation could increase markedly.

In planning popular sports events we must always look at the issue comprehensively and make clear what tasks are met by one or another event. Only events with a clear purpose that will be characterized by exemplary arrangements, pre-meet propaganda, and subsequent analysis must be included in the plans. We must place the main emphasis on competitions that require systematic pre-training. Events similar to the Kaariku ski marathon should be organized in jogging, orienteering, bicycling, and rowing.

The development of popular sports is greatly dependent on the material base. No major sports facilities are planned for the republic in the 11th Five-Year Plan. All the more attention must be paid to a more effective use of existing facilities, to their upkeep and maintenance. Of primary importance is the effective utilization of sports facilities on Saturdays and Sundays, i.e., on days that the people have the most time to use them. Since sports personnel also need rest, would it not be correct to establish Monday as a day of rest for some physical culture personnel?

The maintenance of sports facilities is a cause for worry. Currently many of the republic's facilities are in disrepair and do not attract visitors. Sports are voluntary--if one likes them, one practices, if not, another form of recreation is found. To a large degree the efficient use of facilities is dependent on their upkeep and appearance. Together with party and soviet organs we must increase demands on facility managers. They in turn need concrete assistance from local soviets, since most of them lack the necessary personnel and materials for maintenance.

A serious shortcoming that directly prevents further increases in the mass character of physical culture and sports is the lack of equipment or its poor quality in the retail outlets of the republic. The winter sports season is in full swing, but there is an insufficient amount of necessary equipment on sale (skiing trousers, windbreakers, ski hats and gloves). A sweat suit is not fit for skiing. For years ski boots have been a cause for worry. The production of ski boots in the republic was halted, but the quality of boots procured from elsewhere does not satisfy even the least demanding sportsman.

There is not only a lack of quality ski equipment. Sports shirts and trousers are also in insufficient supply, as is suitable footwear. Basketball shoes being sold in our stores last a serious ballplayer but a short while. Only expensive warmup suits are for sale. A popular sports enthusiast uses a suit a year on the average. If a family has four or five sportsmen, then there is a need for inexpensive cotton suits. But few of them are for sale.

The ECP Central Committee and the ESSR Council of Ministers in their joint directive require that our producing ministries and retail organizations take decisive steps to expand the production of sports equipment and improve retailing. We are waiting for the first positive indicators.

There are still large untapped reserves in the republic for expanding athletic activity in the republic. The aim is to make athletic activity truly national.

9240

CSO: 1815/17

REGIONAL

PAVLODAR OBKOM SECRETARY REVIEWS PARTY PROPAGANDA

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 82 p 2

[Interview with Alma Mukanovna Azhibayeva, secretary of the Pavlodarskaya Oblast Party Committee, by V. Komarov, special correspondent of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, in Pavlodar: "The Boundaries of Reorganization"; date not specified]

[Text] There is truth in the idea repeatedly confirmed by agitators of the Leninist school back in the dawn of Soviet power: "To win, one must be persuasive." The achievements of our propaganda and agitation are in large part determined by the fact that party committees are concerned about the effectiveness and quality of ideological efforts. The present situation dictates a new approach to the entire political-ideological effort and indoctrination. It is no accident that the 26th party congress should have especially emphasized that "In essence it is a question of reorganization ... precisely of reorganization--of many sections and spheres of ideological work. Its content must become more topical, and the forms must suit the present-day demands and needs of the Soviet people." How is this requirement being met by party committees? A. M. Azhibayeva, secretary of the Pavlodarskaya Oblast Party Committee, answered the questions of a correspondent of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Question] Alma Mukanovna, any reorganization presupposes qualitative improvement of the very leadership of sections and spheres of ideological work. What new things has life recently introduced into the practice of party committees?

[Answer] We should note first of all that at all levels a self-critical attitude has been taken in evaluating the forms and methods of propaganda and agitation that have been in use. The decisions of the 26th party congress, the decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On Further Improvement of the Ideological Effort and Political Indoctrination," and the provisions of the documents of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan provided a thrust for serious critical analysis of the state of the ideological indoctrination effort and compelled committees to look in a new way on what they had done previously and to grasp all the complexity of the tasks which have been set. Virtually all units are undergoing reorganization, regularization and renewal. New forms and methods have arisen for exerting a political impact on people, and the previous ones have been undergoing qualitative change. Party committees have put emphasis on the comprehensive approach to the ideological

effort: three main directions have been identified more clearly: ideological and political indoctrination, work orientation and ethical training. Specific party members have moreover been designated within party organizations, party committees and party bureaus to take responsibility for a specific section. This enhances responsibility for task performance and is having a beneficial effect on the growth of initiative of ideological personnel. Committees are now attributing great importance to prospective planning. This is being done at all levels--from the party obkom to the primary party organization--which is making it possible to concentrate the attention of the ideological aktiv on the principal issues, to link them more closely to the local tasks and problems, to bring the process of ideological indoctrination to every section, and to improve monitoring of the work of party organizations in carrying out the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan along specific lines of propaganda and agitation. Reorganization of spheres and sections of the ideological effort has already taken on visible outlines. In party raykoms and party committees of industrial enterprises, organizations, sovkhozes and kolkhozes ideological commissions have been set up and are in operation, ideological planerki are being widely introduced into practice, and propagandists, political information officers and agitators have personal creative plans. Days dedicated to quality, to science, to health and to the atheist have given a good account of themselves at enterprises. The ideological aktiv has begun to hold more frequent "round-table discussions" on topical problems in the ideological effort and political indoctrination. Overcoming inertia and critically examining past experience, the committees are striving to diversify the forms whereby an ideological and political influence is exerted on people, to introduce innovations in the effort, and to take a creative approach in organizing every ideological measure. A favorable influence toward improvement of the work of a number of ideological sections has been exerted by taking up such questions in the bureaus and secretariat of the party obkom as the state of political information to the public in Industrial'nyy Rayon, the rural book trade, atheistic propaganda in work collectives and by place of residence. Thorough analysis and the recommendations that have been drafted are making it possible to improve these and other things.

[Question] In what spheres of ideology have practical results already been obtained in the reorganization that is being carried out?

[Answer] The most substantial changes have occurred in oral political agitation. This was, of course, preceded by a painstaking effort. We first improved the staff of political information officers and agitators everywhere--we strengthened that staff with graduates of the University of Marxism-Leninism, students of seminars and schools for political and economic education, party members and Komsomols, and progressive workers. For example, more than half of the agitators now have higher education. At the same time we gave up on those who were not sufficiently prepared for working with people and who did not show the zeal that was desired. More responsible and better educated comrades were also chosen as supervisors of agitation staffs and groups of political information officers. For instance, in Pavlodar and Ekibastuz they are headed by the heads of shops, sections and other services. At present about 30,000 activists of party organizations are carrying on oral political

agitation. The committees are striving persistently for a smoothly operating system in this area. For instance, a precise schedule has been established throughout the oblast for the holding of political days, for lectures by political information officers, for the discussions of agitators, for publication of the wall newspaper and for local radio programs. Review competitions of agitation stations, reference information centers, agitation areas, mobile agitation stations and Red Corners are now held regularly. There is no doubt that we derived a great deal of benefit from the republic conference held in Pavlodar with agitators of the republic's crash construction projects. Much is also coming from party organizations designated as base facilities for certain aspects of the effort. For example, Mayskiy Rayon is specializing in mass political work, Lebyazhinskiy in mass forms of propaganda, Yermakovskiy in instruction, the Kolkhoz imeni Tel'man in international indoctrination. New forms of work are being introduced more rapidly here, and the ideological aktiv is undergoing training. Recently we have managed to radically improve visual agitation as well. It has become more concrete and responsive. A form like permanent exhibitions of the means of visual agitation in which cities and rayons demonstrate their best examples has given a good account of itself. In the party obkom's Center of Popular Political Education a room dedicated to the methods of oral and visual agitation has been set up for the same purpose.

[Question] Effectiveness in the ideological effort and political indoctrination depends in large part on how the problems of propaganda and agitation are related to the life of work collectives, to the tasks and problems of the present day. How is this requirement of the party being taken into account by the oblast's ideological aktiv?

[Answer] The emphasis in the ideological effort has now been transferred directly to primary party organizations, to work collectives, where, to use the expression of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "the large concepts of politics and economics are translated into the language of practical affairs." We are now attributing great importance to providing political information to the workers. Party, Soviet and trade union officials and managers of enterprises, construction projects, sovkhozes and kolkhozes have begun to participate more actively in this. One can in fact name names--they are G. Pirozhnikov and G. Nikiforov, first secretaries of the Pavlodar and Ekibastuz City Party Committees, respectively, K. Shibanbayev, secretary of the party committee of the Yermakovskaya GVE, B. Khadzhimuratov, director of the Sovkhoz Ekibastizskiy, and many others. In Irtyshskiy Rayon meetings are held between top leaders and the workers of various occupations--stockmen, teachers and medical personnel. In such encounters people willingly express their opinion on particular local problems, submit valuable recommendations and make critical remarks. This is also indicative of the increased activity of the workers, of their greater interest, and of a sympathetic interest in the state of affairs in production sections and in other spheres of life. The ideological aktiv is doing everything possible to set up a system of "feedback" and to provide documented and specific responses and clarifications. Logs in which a record is kept of questions and remarks are helpful in this. Entries are made on the trips of lecturers and those who make political reports, they are analyzed, if necessary they are sent for checking and the taking of measures to the sectoral divisions of the oblast or city party committee, local party committees, and

oblast and rayon organizations. People receive responses to many questions during meetings with information groups, which consist of four or five heads of various organizations of the city or rayon. Uniform political days are being held in an organized way in the oblast. An equally effective form is the "open letter day," when every inhabitant of the microrayon or rural settlement is offered an opportunity to share his opinion on current affairs. In Uspenskiy Rayon the recommendations of workers expressed during "open letter day" served as the occasion for discussion in the bureau of the rayon party committee of problems in improving the mail service to the public and of fulfilling plans and improving the quality of construction work. The Yermak City Party Committee held a meeting of the party-economic aktiv on the basis of the material of the "open letter day"; the meeting was devoted to the topic "On the State of Consumer Services to the Public and the Tasks of Further Improvement of the Work of Trade Enterprises." Much is being implemented. Again in Yermak recommendations of individual citizens have resulted in reconstruction of Prospekt imeni Sverdlov, the paving of several streets, erection of a decorative fence around the culture and recreation park, and commencement of construction on the building for the automatic telephone office with a capacity of 10,000 subscribers. A great number of examples might be given for other cities and villages in the oblast. All of this, of course, is developing the work and civic activity of the people and is having an impact on moral and the political climate both where people and also where they live.

[Question] You have mentioned the moral and psychological climate as the foundations for the successful activity of any collective. There has been good experience at the aluminum plant, which the newspaper told about last year and which has been commended by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. How widespread has it become in the oblast?

[Answer] The aluminum plant is one of our best enterprises. Valuable initiatives and deeds have started there more than once. The experience of the administration and the party organization in creating a wholesome moral and psychological climate in the collective and the necessary conditions for work, everyday life and rest was indeed noted at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The oblast party committee has been working intensively for everything that is valuable to be applied widely at other enterprises. For example, the experience of the work force at the plant is being studied in the oblast, city and rayon schools of the party-economic aktiv and in seminars of ideological personnel, it has been recounted in the oblast press and in the talks of those who present political reports, lecturers and agitators. Many enterprise directors and secretaries of primary party organizations have visited the plant and familiarized themselves with the instructive experience on the spot. Now it is time to become interested in specific results. That is why the party obkom has planned to hear from certain leaders and secretaries of party committees about how this experience is being applied. In February a response was already given by representatives of the Sovkhoz Pogranichnik in Yermakovskiy Rayon. Of course, the results are not everything one could wish for as yet. The experience needs to be backed up from the material and economic standpoint. Just take the refinery. This is one of the progressive enterprises, and its technical-and-economic indicators are quite good. But they could be better if the management and the party organization concerned

themselves more persistently with the questions of social and cultural amenities. Unfortunately, there are also other enterprises and organizations where the significance of social factors in the life of work collectives have been manifestly neglected at the present time. This, of course, generates personnel turnover at enterprises. In short, you do not get far if all you do is discuss working and living conditions and the conditions for leisure time. The workingman must be provided the entire range of social services. This is now our main concern. On the whole there are still quite a few difficulties and shortcomings in our ideological effort. We still have not altogether overcome formalism and oversimplification in the system of political and economic education, nor have we managed as yet to weaken the religious influence on people, and the work of ideological indoctrination has been poorly organized in small collectives, by place of residence, and in youth dormitories. Party committees are indeed concerned at present with conducting the reorganization of all sections and spheres of the ideological effort more rapidly.

7045

CSO: 1830/270

REGIONAL

RECONSTRUCTION NEEDED AT KAZAKH ELECTRIC POWER STATION

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 82 p 1

[Article by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA Correspondent M. Sergeychik: "Awaiting Reconstruction"]

[Text] Perhaps the most important date in the history of industry at Temirtau is 31 December 1944. On that date, the first steel melting took place at the open-hearth furnace which had gone into operation at the Kazakh Metallurgical Plant (now this is a section rolling factory of the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine). The metal of Kazakhstan began working for victory.

But sometimes, one forgets that the metallurgy workers received the power they needed from turbines at the nearby Karaganda GRES-1 [State Regional Electric Power State - 1], which was also built during the difficult war period. Years passed and structures for a synthetic rubber plant, the Kazakhstan Magnetic Separation Combine, enterprises of the construction industry and other branches of industry sprang up next to the factories which were already operating. These new structures were erected according to the latest technology and use the most advanced industrial processes in producing their output. Only the city's first enterprise--its electric power station--was not appreciably affected by the currents of time.

Exactly 40 years had passed since the power station had begun operations. Naturally, during such a period of time the basic, as well as the auxiliary, production equipment had become obsolete and part of it can no longer be repaired. Here is an example: 7 of the 11 boiler units and 3 of the 8 turbo-generator units were manufactured during the 1939-1945 period. Most of these units have been in operation for 200,000 to 300,000 hours each. That is, they have expended their entire estimated service life. It is only natural that such equipment should break down frequently and spend months in unscheduled maintenance.

This situation complicates the work of the power engineering specialists, first and foremost. Although they spend as much as R5 million per year to maintain the equipment in working order, little is accomplished. Thus, just for last year, the station registered about 300 breakdowns of various production units. In addition, more than once there were occasions when only 1 of the 11 boiler units were operating. It is clear why the enterprise had a

shortfall amounting to millions of Kwh of electrical power and many thousands of G/Cal of heat. The station constantly puts its neighbors--chemical and ferrous metallurgy enterprises--in a difficult position, as happened this winter. Thus, in January the power engineers were to blame for the 10,000 ton production shortfall in rolled products at the metallurgical combine. Nor are the residents of Temirtau overjoyed by this situation. Their apartments frequently lack sufficient heat.

What is the reason for such a situation at one of the largest power-producing enterprises?

V. Fedyayev, director of the station, responds: "For more than 10 years, we have been raising the issue of reconstruction with the appropriate ministries. Unfortunately, we have not received understanding or support from any of them thus far. A decision about this vitally important problem is always put off until 'later,' whereas electric power and heat are needed now and in increasing amounts.

Actually, oblast, republic and union-level organizations worked on this problem more than once. At one time it appeared that the matter had been moved from a standstill. For instance, that was the case in 1974 when the Rostov division of "Teploelektropsoyekt" [All-Union State Institute for the Planning of Electrical Equipment for Heat Engineering Structures] developed a feasibility study for reconstruction and expanding the GRES.

Financial support of R38.7 million for this work was agreed upon, on a shared basis, by three union-level ministries: the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy. It was proposed that chemical water treatment and the evaporation pool be expanded, the turbines and fuel-transporting facilities be reconstructed and that new boiler stations, a locomotive shed and other facilities be built. According to the specialists' plans, these measures would have enabled the station to operate smoothly and provide electrical power to consumers without interruption. But these plans were never implemented.

The problem was that the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, soon after the agreement was reached, decided that its share of the financing was too large and would not concur with the previously-accepted allocation of capital investments. Two years later, measures providing for a "reduced" version of the reconstruction were prepared by the engineers and technicians at the station. Under this plan, the share of capital investments by the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry was reduced by almost half. However, at that point, the three ministries could not find a common ground for agreement.

Again the years passed and the previous feasibility study became outdated. The Central Asian division of the "VNI-energoprom" [All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Power Engineering Industry] was tasked with developing a new proposal for reconstruction. The proposal was supposed to be ready in September 1981. However, this date was missed and was moved to the fourth quarter of 1982 by order of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification.

As a whole, renovation of the electric power station's equipment is not planned to begin until 1984. Naturally, this delay does not "link up" with the current needs of the oblast's industry.

Day and night, the massive smoke-stacks at GRES-1 hurl out plumes of black smoke and soot on the western outskirts of Temirtau. At first glance, one gets the impression that the station is operating in a stable manner, providing light and heat to enterprises and residences. As we have seen, that is far from the truth.

Working with obsolete equipment leads to large losses of fuel and energy resources. Nationally, an average of 328 grams of comparison fuel is expended to produce 1 kilowatt-hour of electrical power. At GRES-1, this index is 462 grams. For this reason alone, just during last year 220,000 tons of coal went up in smoke, in a real sense. As a result, more than R2 million were lost.

There is only one conclusion which can be drawn from this: we must make financial resources available, add to them the funds spent annually on endless repairs and get going with reconstruction.

9887

CSO: 1830/253

REGIONAL

TAJIKS IMPROVE TV COMMUNICATIONS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 18 Feb 82 p 4

[Interview with L. A. Avnukov, deputy minister of communications of the Tajik SSR, by correspondent G. Kleyzman; date and place not specified: "Television for Everyone"]

[Text] Television is justly called the miracle of the 20th century. It's hard to imagine a modern apartment without a TV set, black and white or color. Television has even reached into the homes of dwellers of the most remote mountain villages of the Pamirs.

[Question] What are the prospects for the further development of television in our republic? Our correspondent asked L. A. Avnukov, Deputy Minister of Communications of the Tajik SSR.

[Answer] At present most rayons of Tajikistan can reliably receive Central Television broadcasts. This was facilitated by the commencement of operation of the "Orbita" and "Ekran" systems. The silver screens have lit up in places where only recently there was no electric light.

At the same time, however, a portion of the population of the republic still has no access to this miracle of the century. The reason is that the mountain relief blocks the passage of television signals. For television to reach out to those areas we need a ramified network of radio relay lines and repeaters.

In many rayons of the republic people can already watch two TV programs, the republican and Central. Last year the second program was extended to the inhabitants of Sovetskiy Rayon, and this year people will be able to watch it in Ura-Tyubinskiy and Pyandzhakiy Rayons.

Construction of the Leninabad--Isfara radio relay line is nearing completion. When it is commissioned residents of Kanibadan, Isfara, Shuraba and remote villages of those rayons will also be able to view the second program.

[Question] Will construction of stations of the "Ekran" system continue in the Pamirs?

[Answer] All rayon seats in the Gorno-Badakhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast can already view the Central T.V. program. Television has also come into many large communities of that mountainous land. This year construction and installation of stations of the "Ekran" system will continue.

[Question] In letters coming to the editorial offices our readers inquire when the inhabitants of the Garmskaya group of rayons will be able to watch republican TV broadcasts.

[Answer] Not long ago the builders of the Rogunskaya GES began watching these broadcasts along with Central TV programs. This was made possible thanks to the commissioning of a second repeater installed at the station in Khundara village. This year we are continuing construction of a radio relay line in Dzhirgatal'. We intend to commission it before the end of the year. After that people in the mountain villages of the Karategin area will be able to watch the republican TV program.

In addition to this, the republican Ministry of Communications is currently studying the question of transmitting the second all-union program to Kurgan-Tyube. After the installation of additional TV repeaters the inhabitants of Parkhara, Yavan and other regions will also be able to watch two TV programs. By the end of the current 5-Year Plan, 92 percent of the population of the republic will be covered by television services.

[Question] One more question: What innovations can the radio listeners of Tajikistan look forward to?

[Answer] Lovers of classical and variety music in Dushanbe have been enjoying stereophonic reception for several years already. In the near future residents of Leninabad will also be able to receive stereophonic broadcasts. Stereobroadcasting time has increased by one hour per day.

9681

CSO: 1830/255

REGIONAL

TAJIKS HOLD PARTY-ECONOMIC AKTIV

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 27 Feb 82 p 1

[Text] The news of the republic being awarded the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Central Committee of Komsomol for achievement of high results in the All-Union Socialist Competition for Successful Fulfillment of the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981 has gone down as a vivid and memorable event in the life of the workers of Tajikistan. A meeting of the party-economic aktiv held 26 February in Dushanbe was devoted to the presentation of this high award to the republic.

In the ceremoniously decorated hall of the republic Center for Popular Political Education the meeting was held of party, Soviet, trade union, and Komsomol officials, frontrankers and innovators in agricultural and industrial production, and representatives of the public.

The members of the presidium of the meeting were L. A. Kostandov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; members and candidate members of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan: M. B. Babayev, G. B. Bobosadykova, A. D. Dadabayev, I. F. Dedov, L. K. Karmyshev, R. N. Nabiyeu, Ye. I. Perventsev, Yu. I. Polukarov, D. R. Rasulov, A. Kh. Khaydarov, M. Kh. Kholov, V. Ye. Novichkov and Yu. A. Shakarimov; deputy chairmen of the republic's council of ministers: R. G. Gafurov, R. M. Grishina, G. V. Koshlakov, A. N. Maksumov and A. D. Madjanov; workers of labor, veterans of production, scientists and figures in the field of culture. Honored guests in the presidium, heads of delegations from the fraternal republics coming to the ceremony, were as follows: V. P. Yesin, deputy chairman of the UzSSR Council of Ministers; S. D. Gadzhiev, chief of Glavavzvodstroy in Azerbaijan SSR; and G. K. Kurbanov, TuSSR minister of Agriculture.

The meeting was opened by D. R. Rasulov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan.

The participants in the conference unanimously elected an honorary presidium consisting of the Politburo of the Leninist CPSU Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, outstanding party figure and statesman of the present time and an ardent fighter for peace.

The floor was given to L. A. Kostandov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government warmly congratulated the workers of the republic which has won the order three times for their great labor victory and presented the Challenge Red Banner.

The high award was accepted by the leaders of the republic and production frontrankers.

D. R. Rasulov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, addressed the assembly. On behalf of the workers of Tajikistan he expressed heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and Central Committee of Komsomol, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally for the high award and gave assurance that the republic's workers would continue in the future to fight for successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Speeches on behalf of work collectives expressing gratitude to the party and government for the high award and assurance that every effort and all experience and knowledge would be applied to performing the assignments of the 5-year plan were made in the conference by the following: G. P. Pallayev, first secretary of the Kurgan-Tyubinskaya Oblast Party Committee; A. V. Tret'yakova, weaver in the Kayrakhum Carpet Association imeni V. I. Lenin; A. B. Khisamutdinov, first secretary of the Kulyabskaya Oblast Party Committee; Kh. Abdullayev, work team leader of a vegetable-raising team on the Kolkhoz Kommunizm in Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon; B. R. Akhmadaliyev, chairman of the Executive Committee of Leninabadskaya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies; M. Salikhov, work team leader of finishing workers of the Dushanbe Housing Construction Combine and deputy to the republic's supreme soviet; M. Makhmadaliyev, chairman of the Voseyskiy Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, deputy to the republic's supreme soviet, and Hero of Socialist Labor; N. Kadirova, machine operator and driver of a cotton harvester on the Kolkhoz Kirgizstan in Kuybyshevskiy Rayon; K. Mirzoliyev, chairman of the Kulyab Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov; U. K. Kurbanov, first secretary of the Matchinskiy Rayon Party Committee; V. Kayumova, student of the Tajik Agricultural Institute; N. Saidmukhiddinov, work team leader of the Kolkhoz Leningrad in Vakhshskiy Rayon; M. Sharifov, leader of a mixed team of the Nurekgesstroy Construction Administration and Hero of Socialist Labor; and A. I. Chernyayev, driver of Motorized Column 2926 of TaSSR Ministry of Motor Transport.

Speeches of greeting and good wishes to the workers of Tajikistan were made by heads of delegations of the fraternal republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Azerbaijan attending the conference.

The participants in the conference set forth socialist obligations assumed by the republic's workers for 1982. An agreement was concluded for traditional socialist competition between the agricultural workers of the republics of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenia.

A letter of greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Politburo of the Leninist Central Committee, and personally to Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was approved by those attending the meeting with great enthusiasm and unanimous applause.

Masters of the arts in Tajikistan presented a long concert for the participants in the ceremony.

In the morning, on 26 February, the participants in the conference of the party-economic aktiv laid flowers at the foot of the monument to the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state V. I. Lenin, on the plaque bearing the leader's name.

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REGIONAL

NATIONAL CHARACTER LACKING IN MODERN KIRGHIZ ARCHITECTURE

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGHIZIYA in Russian 6 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by A. Abetekov, learned colleague of the Archeology Section of the Institute of History of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences: "The Appearance of Our City: Problems and Discussion"]

[Text/ /While noting the successes of mass construction, we do not, at the same time, have the right to close our eyes to the serious omissions in architectural creativity, to the well-known monotony of the new residential micro-districts, to the insufficient utilization of national motifs in creating the appearance of our republic's capital./ **/in boldface/**

During the last few years a great deal has changed in the architectural-artistic appearance of our capital. A large complex of measures was carried out in connection with the 50th anniversary of the republic and the 100th anniversary of the city of Frunze. The problem of the entrance to the capital from the southern side was successfully solved by the architects. Apartment houses with original forms were built here, and colorful panels made their appearance, comprising a unique "southern gateway to the city." Interesting residential and administrative buildings were erected--nine-story apartment houses along Sovetskaya Street, a museum of fine arts, the building of the Kirghiz State Philharmonia with an architectural ensemble in front of it, and others. Work is gradually being completed on Lenin Prospect, where architects and sculptors are creating a number of rest and recreation areas. Nevertheless, it is still too early, in our opinion, to state that all the diversity of the modern architecture's artistic ideas has been utilized for the aesthetic edification of our capital's inhabitants and guests.

In particular, not enough of the national coloration is being used in architecture.

Monumental art is not supposed to "save" architecture but rather to impart specific forms to it, to facilitate a quality of completion, a clarity of artistic ensemble. It is fine that in practice traits are present which are common to our country's architecture as a whole. In the process, however, of developing the architecture of the cities of our fraternal Union republics and especially that of their capitals, it would be correct to make bolder use of the valuable experience which is contained in progressive national artistic construction traditions, as worked out under the influence of the specific geographical and climatological conditions, as well as aesthetic ideals. Is it really impossible, for example, to

build in Frunze and other cities of the republic several buildings, let's suppose, for the service sphere--restaurants, cafes, hotels, and public baths, utilizing the architectural prototypes of the unique landmarks of past centuries? The use of Eastern motifs in the capital's architectural structures does not require expensive materials or large capital investments. Our neighboring architects from Tashkent, Alma-Ata, and other Union-republic cities have well-known experience in this matter. The intelligent use of architectural and artistic traditions of applied folk arts, in our opinion, only enriches the aesthetic coloration of a city's architecture which is socialist in content and national in form. We think that our urban construction needs to have more active cooperation by many workers in the creative arts. Concern for raising the original, artistic-ideational level of the capital-city's architecture should be at the center of attention of architects and builders, sculptors and painters, skilled masters in finishing-type specialties and applied arts, who can successfully assist in creating an individual and unique appearance for the capital.

Architectural-planning and volume-spatial composition--right down to the finishing details of the facades, the most appropriate interiors, and objects of applied arts--should all be designed under the guidance of a principal director of construction, the city's chief architect. Party and state institutions are supposed to support this great work. And then our capital will become even more beautiful.

REGIONAL

WESTERN, CHINESE SCHOLARSHIP ON CENTRAL ASIA ATTACKED

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 27 Feb 82 p 2

/Article by Dzh. Tursunov, chairman of the board, Kirghiz SSR Union of Journalists: "Truth versus Falsehood"/

/Text/ The achievements of Soviet Kirghizistan and the other Central Asian republics in all spheres of spiritual and economic life comprise a vivid affirmation of the Leninist theory of the non-capitalist path of development for the previously backward nations and ethnic groups in the border areas of tsarist Russia and an eloquent illustration of what heights unknown in history can be attained by peoples who have freed themselves from the fetters of age-old backwardness as a result of the victory of a socialist revolution.

Experience in lifting the social, economic, and cultural level of the Central Asian peoples to the heights of genuine socialism, its permanent importance for the countries and peoples which are liberating themselves from colonial and imperialist yokes, have brought forth among the bourgeois ideologists an attempt by any means to belittle the influence of communist ideology on the development of the historical process. In defending the thoroughly rotten and long-ago compromised class viewpoints, the apologists of imperialism are by no means averse to discrediting the experience of the socialist transformations in our country as well as in the other countries of the socialist community.

Whipping up the arms race, American imperialism, in league with the Beijing hegemons and other reactionary forces, have begun to wage a frantic offensive against communism, the forces of peace, and detente. Under the conditions of this exacerbated ideological struggle the party has relegated a very important role to the media of mass information and propaganda. From the rostrum of the 26th CPSU Congress mention was made of the re-structuring of many sections and spheres of ideological work, of the need to bring about a situation whereby "its contents become more topical, and its forms respond to the present-day demands and requirements of Soviet people."

Whereas our ideological adversaries in their attempts to besmirch genuine socialism do not shrink from such amoral means of struggle as lies, slander, distortion, and a garbling of the actual facts, the weapon of Soviet journalists has always been and will always be the truth. A recently published decree of the CPSU CC, entitled "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," placed particular emphasis on the need to "argumentatively expose the

bourgeois falsifiers of our country's history and the nationality policy of the CPSU."

The press of Soviet Kirghizistan, which has always occupied an active position in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism of all stripes and trends, during the period after the 26th Congress has accomplished a definite amount of work on improving counter-propaganda, as well as exposing the falsifications which have fabricated by the bourgeois false scholars and their Beijing followers. Our press is rebuffing more and more decisively all manner of attacks on the essence of the CPSU's nationality policy, including also the falsification of the historical experience of building socialism within the republics of Soviet Central Asia.

The achievements of the Central Asian peoples today are so significant and obvious that the bourgeois ideologists can no longer completely ignore them. Sweeping negation of our achievements and successes, along with crude distortion of the facts, have given way to "objective" research studies containing statistical data, complex computations, theoretical calculations, and the other attributes of a supposedly scientific approach to the subject. The bourgeois falsifiers have attempted to "reinforce" these invented concepts by analyzing tendentiously selected facts, trying by means of such juggling to demonstrate some sort of continuity which is supposed to be taking place between the tsarist and the Soviet policies in Central Asia; they are disseminating the false assertion that there is a "continuation" of the colonial policy in these republics by other methods and devices.

Imperialism has taken into the arsenal of its ideology the thesis of the national "crisis", which is supposedly being experienced by the population of Central Asia. "Geometrical prognoses" are being constructed on the opposition of the Central Asian peoples to the Russian people. Thus, in the opinion of the American historian Richard Pipes (who is now one of the advisers of the President of the United States), "the entire future of the Muslims of Soviet Central Asia depends on the will and the stubbornness of their resistance to Russification, which is being carried out by the Soviet government."

When one reads such inventions as this, one is always convinced of the rightness of the folk proverb to the effect that nobody is as blind as the person who does not wish to see. And in order to see and understand the true significance of the road which we have traveled, one must be our friend and like-thinker. There are quite a number of persons in the West, including the American writer and public figure, William H. Overby, who, after visiting Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, wrote a book entitled "Soviet Reality: The 1970's." This book contains the following eloquent testimony: "The Central Asian peoples have made enormous strides forward on the economic, social, cultural, and ideological levels; moreover, this has all been accomplished within a few decades. And all this is due to the Soviet regime. Reality itself compels us to advance well-documented arguments in response to the lying assertion of bourgeois propaganda that these republics constitute 'Russian colonies' and oppressed nations," while the national self-expression in them is supposedly being curtailed. Our trip to Kirghizia and Kazakhstan dispelled these malignant fantasies."

Since they no longer are able to conceal from their own peoples the striking successes of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, the bourgeois ideologists assert that these successes are limited merely to the economic sphere. In their opinion, these successes are no proof of the advantages of socialism but only of the general trend of development, brought about by the "common technologism of the 20th century." And the Sovietologist E. Goldhagen, for example, affirms the following: "Among most of the national minorities the material successes, no matter how impressive they might be in many instances, have been achieved at the expense of spiritual and cultural limitations and at the expense of suppressing the traits of their individuality. They have all been subjected to the pressure of Russification." How is one expected to answer this?

Everyone knows well what enormous aid the Russian people have rendered to the Kirghiz people along its road to a new and happy life. Since the very first days of the Soviet regime the Russian working class has acted as a uniting and cementing force for the peoples of our country. The Russian people, by its revolutionary traditions, richness of science and culture, its profoundly internationalist and unselfish aid to other fraternal peoples gained for itself their sincere respect. All of this predestined the unification of Russia's peoples on the basis of a voluntary desire for an integrated, unbreakable, fraternal union. Due to this, for the first time in history, the common language of a multi-national state--the Russian language--became not only the language of everyday communication, but also, to quote the words of V. I. Lenin, the language of the fraternal unity of the peoples, along with the strictest observance of the principle of the voluntary choice of language, the creation of maximally favorable conditions for the development of national languages and the flowering of the national cultures of the peoples of the USSR.

Particular mention must be made of the increasing role of the Kirghiz Soviet intelligentsia in the struggle of ideas in the present-day world. The best works of Kirghiz national literature and art convey to the peoples of the world the truth about the Soviet way of life; they demonstrate the spiritual beauty of Soviet man and the genuine flight of national culture under the conditions of developed socialism.

The names of Ch. Aytmatov, T. Sydykov, T. Okeyev, B. Shamshiyev, S. Chokmorov, B. Minzhilkiyev, A. Tokombayeva, and K. Moldobasanov are renowned far beyond the borders of our republic. They are, so to speak, plenipotentiary representatives of socialist culture, bearing high their banner of struggle for the social and spiritual liberation of man, for peace and friendship among the peoples of the earth.

Employed today in the sectors of Kirghizistan's national economy, science, and culture are approximately 240,000 specialists with a higher or a secondary specialized education, including more than 80,000 persons of the Kirghiz nationality. And the imprint of the great Russian people's beneficial influence, as well as the Russian language, has been made on all these enormous achievements of the Kirghiz people.

Understanding how important it is for every Kirghiz to know the language of his Russian brother, a language which will enable him to assimilate the best achievements of our fatherland's and world culture, the journalists of the editorial offices of this republic's newspapers are applying great efforts to propagandize the role and the importance of the Russian language. Many publications have traced the beneficial influence of the Russian language on the formation of the national, Kirghiz intelligentsia and specialists in the national economy.

Now the Beijing hegemonists have joined close ranks with the bourgeois ideologists in their attacks on genuine socialism. Chinese propaganda is trying in all manner of ways to blacken the Soviet reality. Anti-Sovietism has been elevated to the rank of state policy. The Chinese ruling circles are intensifiedly puffing up the myth of the "threat" to China from the North.

By crudely distorting and falsifying history, the Maoists justify and glorify the policy of seizing other people's lands and enslaving peoples--the very same policy which was conducted during the course of many centuries by the Chinese emperors. This policy has long historical roots. The pages of the Kirghiz heroic epic, "Manas," also tell the story, in an artistically mediated form, of the expansionist strivings of the Chinese emperors and of the courageous, heroic struggle by the Kirghiz against the enslavers from foreign lands. Xinjiang is proclaimed to be an "original Chinese territory," and the Maoists have attempted with special persistence to provide the groundwork for their "historical rights" to this area. The present-day Chinese historians Zheng Shouluo, Feng Cashang, and Mu Gaongwan in the collection published by them and entitled "Historical Materials about the Uyghurs," have openly entered upon the path of justifying the predatory policy of the Manchurian-Chinese emperor of the Qing Dynasty, who in 1759 put his troops into Eastern Turkestan and, by means of force, annexed it as a colony to China; he gave this territory the Chinese name of "Xinjiang," which may be translated as "new border." In their shameless attempts to falsify the history of Xinjiang, chauvinistically minded historians have even inaugurated a political campaign to "study archeological monuments," during the course of which, with the aid of various archeological "finds," they have attempted to prove that the supposed "Western borders of China extend as far as Lake Balkash." Such methods of falsification, which have now become a common matter in Chinese historical scholarship, put out of one's head the true purposes of this provocational activity.

The press, radio, and television of Soviet Kirghizistan accord constant attention to exposing the Beijing falsifiers; from party class positions they rebuff the slanderous inventions of the anti-communists, convincingly demonstrating the invalidity of the attempts to falsify the Leninist doctrine on the nationality question, and exposing the intrigues of Beijing propaganda. A distinguishing trait of such publications is their precisely expressed, attacking nature. The exposure of the propagandistic tricks of our ideological opponents is conducted on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the question; an analysis of the true picture of events and phenomena is provided.

In speaking about the effectiveness of our struggle against the anti-communist ideology, we cannot fail to acknowledge that in this field we still have quite a few problems remaining to be solved.

One of the principal requirements presented today for the workers in the media of news information and propaganda, flowing out of the decisions made at the 26th CP-BU Congress, consists of intensifying the attacking nature of publications in the periodical press, as well as over television and radio, in the struggle against anti-communism, criticism of bourgeois and revisionist theories, as well as exposing falsifiers of all stripes.

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REGIONAL

TURKMENS REVIEW PARTY ELECTION PROCESS

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 3 Mar 82 p 1

[Turkmeninform News Agency: "Seminar-Conference in Ashkhabad"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet and the republic's Council of Ministers conducted a seminar-conference to which were invited secretaries of oblast, city, and rayon executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies, the heads of the departments for organization and instruction as well as for general affairs, and legal advisers to the aforesaid committees. The seminar examined the tasks of the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies with respect to the preparation and conduct of elections to local soviets of people's deputies and rayon (municipal) people's courts.

It was emphasized that the coming elections are of tremendous political importance. They will take place in an atmosphere of preparations by the Soviet nation to celebrate a remarkable date--the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR. The current election campaign is an important factor in mobilizing workers to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks and socialist pledges for the second year of the five-year plan.

The coming elections will be the first since the adoption of the law regulating the judicial system of the Turkmen SSR and the law regulating elections to rayon (municipal) people's courts of the Turkmen SSR. For the first time the elections of deputies to local soviets, people's judges, and people's assessors will be held concurrently.

The seminar-conference specified concrete measures for preparing the elections, which should be conducted pursuant to the Law of the Turkmen SSR on Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies and Rayon (Municipal) People's Courts.

Also discussed were problems of: further improving the processing of documents; strengthening, in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the control and monitoring of the fulfillment of the directives and conclusions presented in the report by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, comrade L. I. Brezhnev, at that congress; observance of socialist legality in the decisions of the soviets and their executive committees, and other matters.

An address to the seminar was delivered by M. G. Shmidt, Member of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Bureau and Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.

Those taking part in the work of the seminar-conference included the members of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Bureau Ch. S. Karryyev and G. S. Mishchenko; the deputy chairpersons of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers E. A. Bazarova, N. Orazmukhamedov, and N. T. Suyunov, and the head of the general department of the Turkmen CP Central Committee V. F. Belonozhkina.

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